



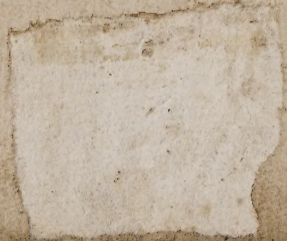
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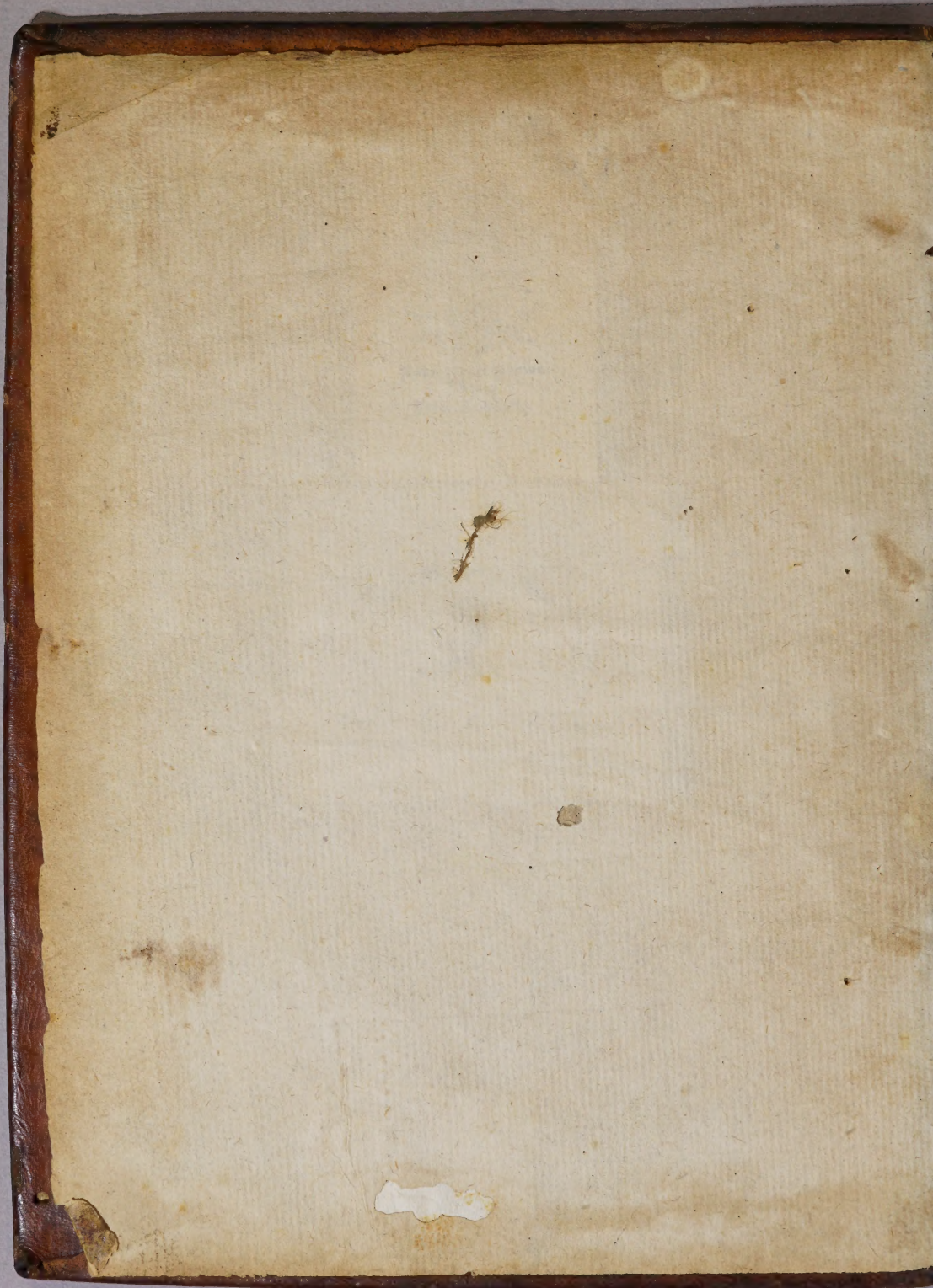


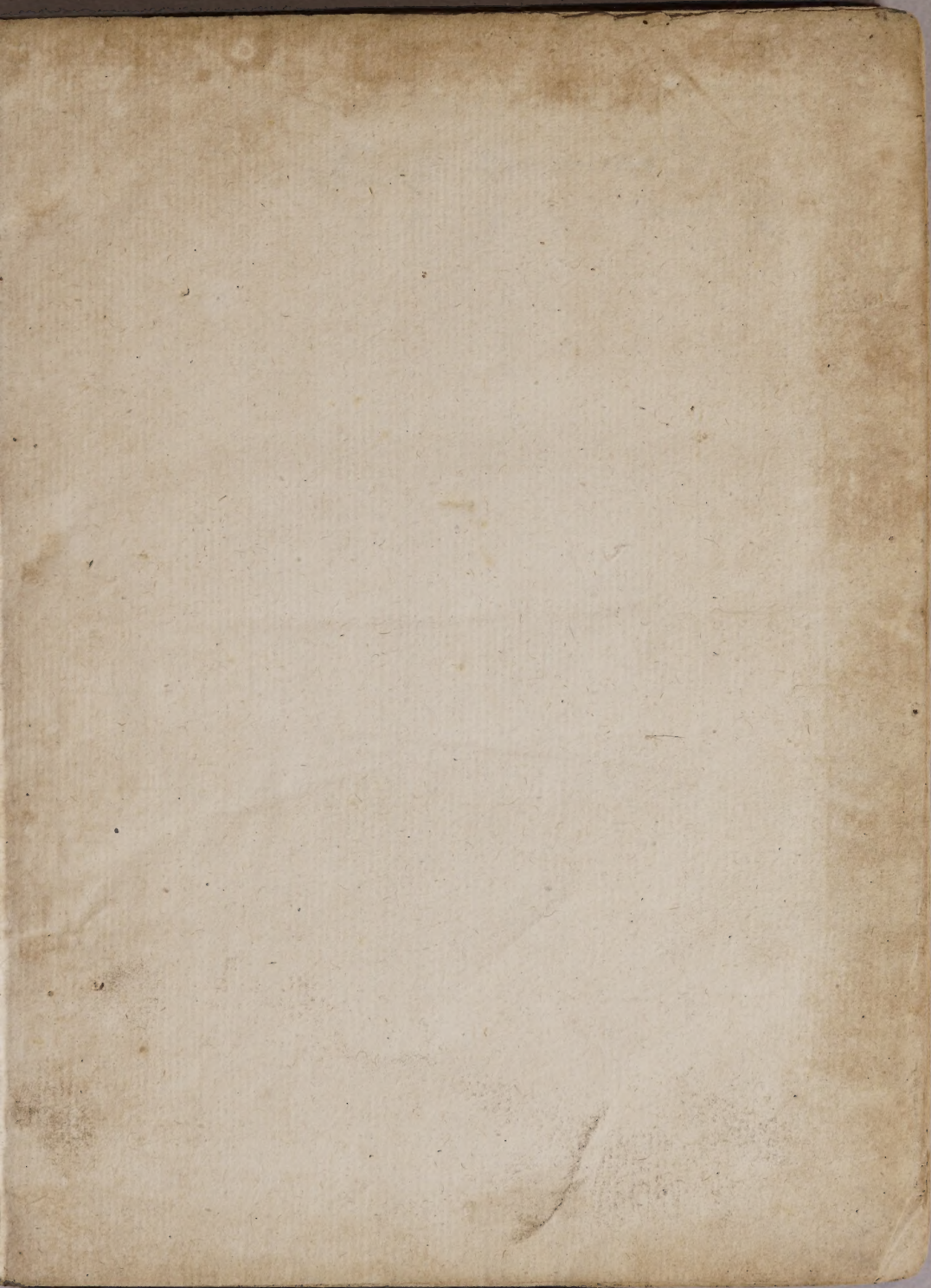
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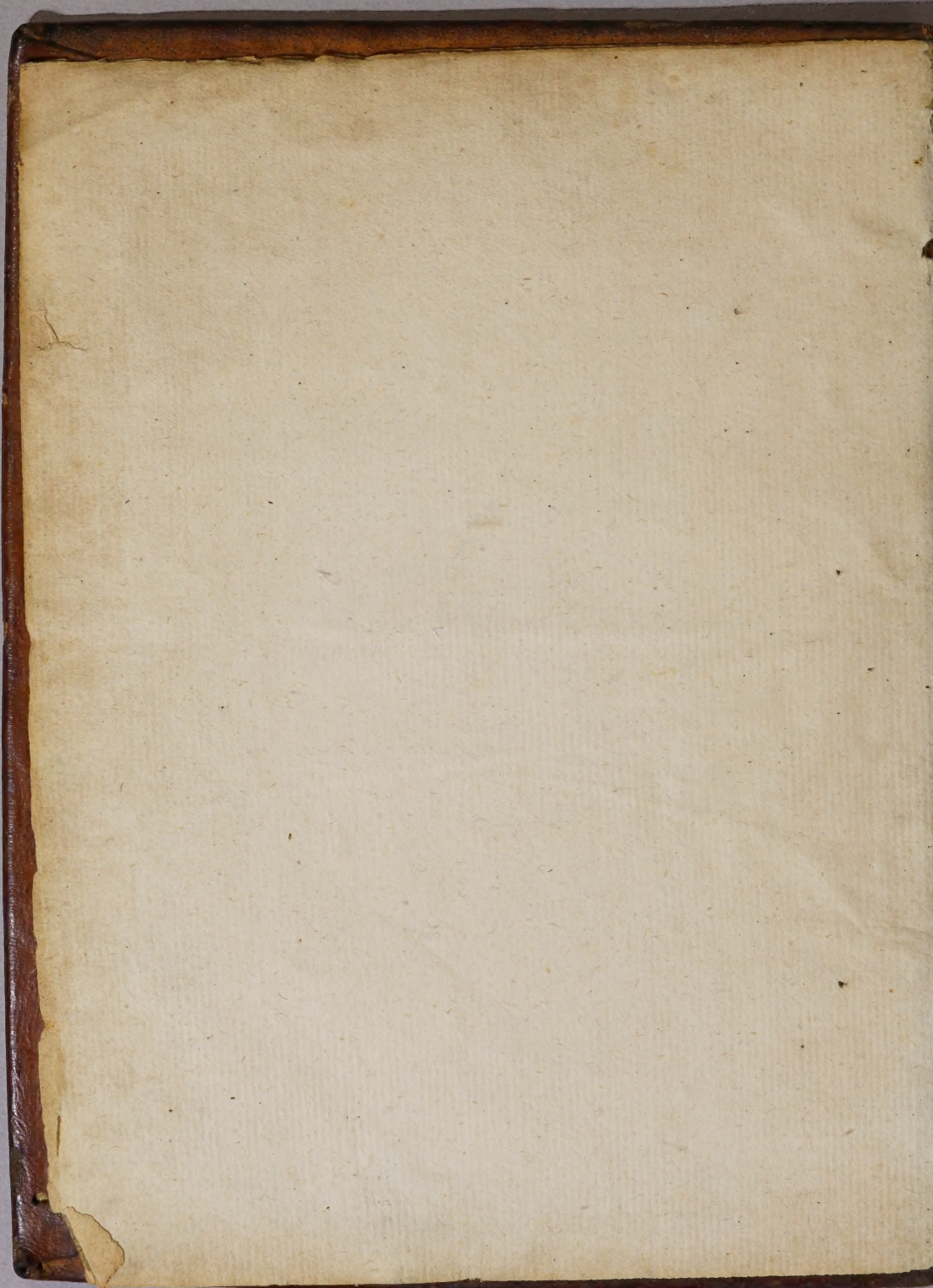
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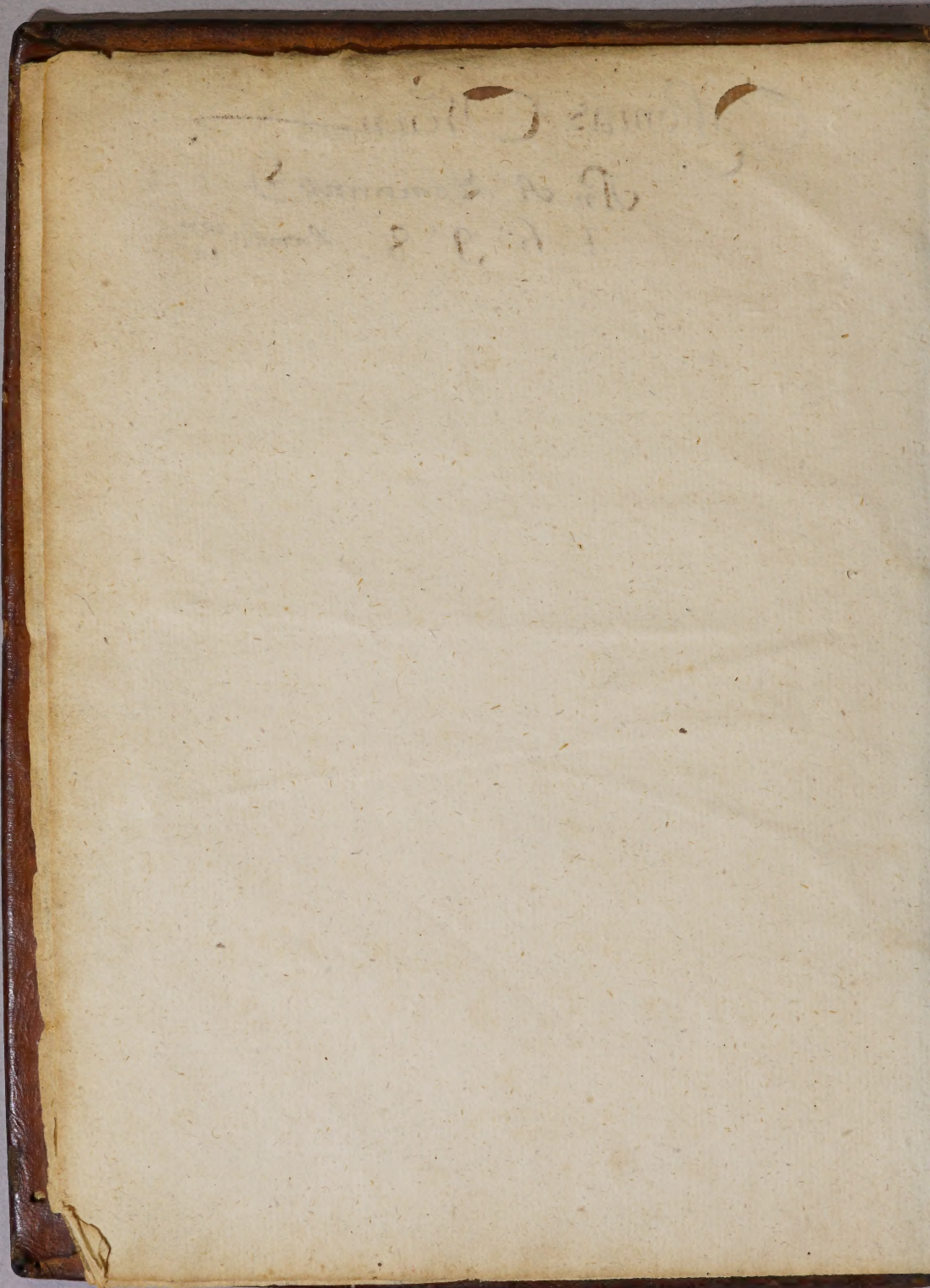




Thomas Wenn

An A. Lomonne D.

L. 6. 9. 8. Lembre. 10. 12.



THE worthy Author of this Narrative (of whose Fidelity we are well assured) by his great pains and industry, in collecting and compiling the several Occurrences of this Indian-War, from the Relations of such as were present in the particular Actions, bath faithfully and truly performed the same, as far as best information agreeing could be obtained, which is therefore judged meet for publick view; and we whose Names are underwritten, deputed by the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony to peruse and licence the same; have and do accordingly Order it to be imprinted, as being of publick benefit, and judg the Author to have deserved due acknowledgment and Thanks for the same.

Boston, March 29.
1677.

Simon Bradstreet.
Daniel Denison.
Joseph Dudley.

Licensed,

June 27, 1677.

Roger L'Esrange.

THE
Present State
OF
New - England.
BEING A
NARRATIVE
Of the Troubles with the
INDIANS

IN
NEW-ENGLAND, from the first planting
thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677:
But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last
years 1675, and 1676.

To which is added a Discourse about the War
with the PEQUODS in the year 1637.

By W. Hubbard Minister of Ipswich.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a Memorial in a Book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, Exod. 17. 14.

LONDON:
Printed for Tho. Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside,
near Mercers Chappel, and at the Bible on London-Bridg. 1677.

THE
JOURNAL OF
JOSEPH W. WILSON
OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK
IN THE
YEAR 1840

JOSEPH W. WILSON
OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK
IN THE
YEAR 1840

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OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK
IN THE
YEAR 1840

WPCB

JOHN CARTER BROWN

*To the Honourable JOHN LEVERET
Esq; Governour of the Colony of the Massa-
chusets; JOSIAH WINSLOW Esq;
Governour of the Colony of Plimouth;
WILLIAM LEET Esq; Governour
of the Colony of Connecticut.*

Notwithstanding the great and unvaluable good that hath in all ages of the World accrued to Mankind by Order and Government; yet such is the depravedness of mans nature, and imperfection of his knowledg, that it is as well hard to find out, as difficult to maintain such a Form and Order of Government as will prove a sufficient Fence and security for so great a treasure as is the common good, and publick safety. After the sad and long experience of former times, some have thought no means can be found out so effectual for the upholding and preserving the same, with all the sacred and civil rights and priviledges thereunto belonging, as a liberty in this Case for people to design and chuse out from among themselves, the persons that are to be intrusted with those great concerns. Whatever may be said for the extolling the happiness of them that have such an advantage in their hands, all that may be comprehended within the compass of such a power, it is for the present in the principal and leading part thereof devolved upon your selves in all the three Colonies of *New-England*; who by the choice of the free people in those your several Jurisdictions, are now called to act your several parts as chief on the publick stage of Government. Ever since you have taken your turns at the helm, there have been very boisterous winds and rough Seas, threatening Shipwrack of all; which notwithstanding,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

standing, you need not be discouraged, while due consideration is had, to whom, and what you have embarked with you. When once the great *Roman Conquerour*, and chief Founder of their Monarchy, was passing the *Adriatick Sea* in a disguise, the Pilot being dismayed with the fierceness of the wind, the raging of the waves, his Passenger pulled off his disguise, and bid him be of good courage and not fear, for he carried *Cesar*, and all his Fortunes: Surely *Jesus Christ* and all his promises, in which you are not a little concerned, is a far better ground of comfort and encouragement in a stormy season. *Luther* was wont to say, or did once in a great exigent say, that he had rather *Ruere cum Christo quam stare cum Cesare*; accounting Christ a better friend, though falling as to the World, to trust to, than *Cesar* standing in power, according to the word of Christ himself, *greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the World*: So as all such may say with the Prophet, *Rejoyce not against me, O mine enemy; for when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me*; which I trust your selves have had so much experience of, in these late dark Dispensations, that if sometimes you have not seen, yet always you have believed that *Light was sown for the Righteous*, and that there shall be a clear breaking forth of the Sun, after the Tempest is over: what God hath planted, shall not by man, or any of Satans Instruments be plucked up. It is with young Colonies, as it is with Trees newly planted: Which those winds, as one saith, that are not so boisterous as to blow down, do so far advantage as to shake them to a greater fastness at the Root. The Sovereign Ruler of the World doth usually by such ways and means bring about his peoples good, at the first, not well understood, nor easily brooked, till the quiet fruit of righteousness be discerned to spring up unto all such as are exercised therein. It hath been no small advantage that the staff of Government, and the shields of this part of the Earth were put into your hands (before the Boar out of the Wood hath broke into this Vineyard) who under God, we trust may be found the Repairers of the Breach, and the Restorers of Paths to dwell in, while both your selves, and those under your charge and conduct, are looking unto him, who is promised to be the peace of his people, when the *Assyrian* shall come into their Land.

The consideration of the power wherewith you are invested, together with the great Wisdom, Faithfulness and Courage by which it hath been managed by you, in your several stations, hath induced me to desire that the Historical discourse ensuing might pass into publick view under the umbrage of your Protection. If a reason be demanded for the entitling

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ling so many names of worth to the patronage of so small and inconsiderable a Volume ; I need no other Apology at this time, than I find in the words of the Wise Man ; there are cases wherein *two are better than one, and a three-fold cord is not easily broken* : For it being like to pass through your several Jurisdictions, I conceived it might need a passport of safe conduct from him that doth preside in either of them. It carries nothing with it but truth (as I hope will be found) which may well expect to meet with a ready welcom, and suitable entertainment in every honest mind ; but all men are not so equally balanced in their affections as to bear with plain dealing, and give that harmless Dove a resting-place in their minds for the sole of her foot. Of all Writings, those that are historical, specially while the things mentioned are fresh in memory, and the actors themselves surviving, had need be pursued with a wary pace. Notwithstanding the great care that hath been taken to give all and every one, any way concerned in the subject of the Discourse, their just due, and nothing more or less, yet perhaps some critical Reader will not let every sentence pass without some censure or other. It was once by a great man accounted no small offence in an harmless Poet, that some of his titles were misplaced as they were marshalled up in their order : If any Historian should commit an error parallel thereunto, a pardon, as it may be needed, in such a Script as is the present *Narrative*, so may it be the better expected, while passing up and down under the guard of your Authority, yea though it should chance to be an offence of an higher nature ; as the mistiming of some passages, mistaking the distance of some places, or too often touching upon the same particulars, which could not be well avoided in a Collection of so many Occurrents too hastily drawn up, though true ; yet unseasonably, or out of due time coming to light, without a total omission of some material passages. It was intended at the first only as a private Essay, wherein to bind up together the most memorable passages of divine Providence, during our late, or former troubles with the *Indians* ; it might have remained in the place where it was first conceived and formed, or been smothered as an imperfect Embrio, not worthy to see the light, if some such as your selves had not both quickned the being, and hastned the birth thereof. Something of this nature may be of use to Posterity, as well as to those of the present Generation, to help them both to call to their mind, and carry along the memory of such eminent deliverances, and special preservations granted by divine favour to the people here ; as it was of old commanded of God himself, that a Register should be kept of those Wars, which in opposition to others, were in a peculiar

The Epistle Dedicatory.

manner to be called The Wars of the Lord ; and such as these here treated of, if any, since miraculous deliverances have ceased, may truly be said to deserve that title. If it had fallen into some abler hand, it might have been set forth with better choice of words, and more fit expressions, that might have left a deeper impression on the minds of those who are most concerned to retain it ; however it being now like to be brought to publick view, I have presumed to offer it to your selves, as on the accounts forementioned, so also as a testimony of my thankful and deserved acknowledgment of that Wisdom and integrity abundantly shewn forth in the administration of your Authority.

Much Honoured and Honourable, I have nothing more to add, but the engagement of my continual and daily prayers to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, that he would carry you through all troubles, difficulties and trials you may be conflicting with, whether personal or political; and that he would bless your Councils at home; prosper your enterprizes abroad, and long continue your lives in the present Generation, for his own Glory and his peoples good ; that after you have served your Generation here, your memory like that of the just, may be blessed, and that you may leave peace as the Inheritance of the remaining Israel of God in these ends of the Earth : which is, and shall be the earnest wish, and constant desire of,

From my Study,
16th, 12. 1676.

Your most humble and

Devoted Servant,

William Hubbard.

An Advertisement to the

READER.

THE following historical Essay, was, when first drawn up, intended only for the satisfaction of a private Friend, and not for the use of the publick; therefore hope I may be excused, if I fall short therein of that exactness, which might be expected from one that designedly undertook a Work of this nature: however trusting more to the judgment of some who have accidentally had the perusal thereof, than mine own, I am not unwilling that others should receive benefit thereby. The Compiler of an History can challenge little to himself but methodizing the work, the materials being found ready to his hand: diligence in gathering them together, and faithfulness in improving them, is all that is upon point required of him; in both which I have endeavoured to make good what the profession I have now taken up obliges me unto. The matter of fact therein related (being rather Massacres, barbarous inhumane outrages, than acts of Hostility, or valiant achievements) no more deserve the name of a War, than the report of them the title of an History; therefore I contented my self with a Narrative. Much of what is therein mentioned, depending on the single authority of particular persons, an exact description of every occurrent was hardly to be obtained: All Soldiers are not like Cæsar, able to describe with their pens, what they have done with their Swords: But the most material passages inserted, were either gathered out of the Letters, or taken from the mouths of such as were eye or ear-witnesses of the things themselves, and those also persons worthy of credit. In such passages as were variously reported by the Actors, or Spectators, that which seemed most probable is only inserted. If any error be committed about the Situation or distance of places, it may deserve an excuse rather than a censure: For our Soldiers in the pursuit of their Enemies being drawn into many desert places, inaccessible Woods, and unknown Paths, which no Geographers hand ever measured, scarce any Vultures eye had ever seen, there was a necessity to take up many things in reference thereunto upon no better credit sometimes than common Report. One or two passages need a more particular excuse, or at least explication: As where it is said, p. 2, That the first Colony was sent hither Anno 1606, The mistake is easily helped, by minding the Reader that the Patent or Commission was that year granted, when also Capt. Henry Challons was sent over upon some further discovery of the Country, before the Adventurers

To the Reader.

would hazard a greater charge : soon after the departure of the said Challons, the same year Sir John Popham, one of the principal Undertakers, sent out another ship to second him under the Command of Capt. Haman, Martin Prin of Bristow being Master, who not finding Challons (for he miscarried in his design, being seized by some Strangers in the way) yet returning with good news, the next year they sent out two ships with an hundred men, with Ordnance and other Provision, under the conduct of Capt. George Popham, and Capt. Rawley Gilbert, who built a Fort in some place about Sagade-hoch, called St. Georges Fort, the ruines of which are remaining to this day, as some say. Probably other like mistakes may be observed, in describing the bounds and dimensions of some of the Patents, and grants of land belonging to the other Colonies; but an Historian being no Pretorian Judge, his report cannot prejudice any peoples Jurisdiction, or persons propriety.

Further also, where it is said, p. 7, That the Indians had lived peaceably with the English here near forty years, ever since the Pequod War; it is to be understood with reference to publick acts of Hostility; for particular mischiefs have been committed by several Indians in some parts of the Country, but the actors were not abetted therein by any of their Country men: As at Nantucket, an Island to the Eastward of Cape Cod, where in the end of the year 1664, some villanous Indians murdered some that suffered shipwreck upon that Island, yet justice was done upon two or three of the chief actors. In like manner within a few years after the Pequod Wars, Mrs. Hutchinson was killed by the Indians near a Dutch Plantation; about which time some other insolencies of like nature were acted by the Indians Southward, either upon Long Island, or in some place within New-haven Colony. Also a murder was committed at Farmington, another at Woburn, by some Indians in their drunken humors, upon a maid-servant or two, who denied them drink. All which hinder not the truth of what is affirmed in the Narrative, such murders being too frequently committed in the most peaceable places in the World. Such errors as are the forementioned, being overlooked by the Candid Reader, it is presumed, there will not be many other faults to be complained of, unless such as are meerly Typographical; or else were occasioned by the dropping in of particular passages, after the whole was drawn up, which I was willing to insert, although it occasioned the discourse in some places, to be a little more confused than else would have been. If ever the matter require another Edition, more accurateness may be observed. If those into whose hands these shall happen to come, find any satisfaction about the Occurrents that have here fallen out, the Publisher shall account his pains well bestowed.

To the Revernd Mr. William Hubbard on his most
exact History of New-Englands Troubles.

When thy rare Piece unto my view once came
It made my Muse that erst did smoke, to flame :
Raising my Fancy so sublime, that I
That famous forked Mountain did espy ;
Thence in an Extasie I softly fell
Down near unto the *Helliconian* Well ;
Where Poetry, in Prose, made I did see
By a *Mercurian* Brain, which sure was Thee ;
Such is thy modest Stile, enrich'd with Sence,
Invention fine, faced with Eloquence :
Thy florid Language quaintly doth expresse
The Truth of matter in a comely dresse ;
Couching the Sence in such a pleasing Strain
As makes the Readers Heart to leap again :
And sweetly draws him like those Lotteries
Which never miss but always win the Prize.
But whither roves my Muse ? What can be done
By'm that augments the Sea, or lights the Sun ?
Go on brave Worthy, and let these Essays,
Like fair *Aurora* usher in the Raies
Of a Refulgent Sun arising clear,
Hence to illuminate our Hemisphere ;
That th'after Ages may extol the High-One
For's Loving kindness to our little Sion :
And may our Senatours with due regard,
These and thy future labours all reward ;

Though

Though not in full, yet such encouragement,
As may in them be just, to thee content ;
For th'present Age, and those that shall ensue,
Will be perpetual Debtors unto you.
Fame shall with Honour crown thee ; and wee'l raise
Thy lasting Monument in Groves of Bays.
Heavens bless thee in thy Work, and may success
Attend thee here; hereafter, Happiness.

J. S.

Upon the elaborate Survey of New-Englands Passions from the Natives, By the impartial Pen of that worthy Divine Mr. William Hubbard.

A Countries Thanks with Garlands ready lye
To wreath the Brows of your Divinity,
Renowned Sir : to Write the Churches War
In ancient times, fell to the Prophets share.
New-Englands Chronicles are to be had
From *Nathans* Pen, or Manuscript of *Gad*.
Purchase wrote much, *Hacluyt* traversed far,
Smith and *Dutch John de Laet* famous are :
Martyr, with learn'd *Acosta*, thousands too,
Here's Novelties and Stile which all out-do,
Wrote by exacter hand than ever took
Historians Pen since *Europe* we forsook.
I took your Muse for old *Columbus* Ghost,
Who scrap'd acquaintance with this Western Coast:
But in converse some Pages I might find,
Than all *Columbus* Gemms, a brighter mind.
Former Adventures did at best beguile,
About these Natives Rise (obscure as *Nile*)
Their grand Apostle writes of their return;
William's their Language; *Hubbard* how they burn,
Rob, Kill and Roast, lead Captive, Flay, Blaspheme;
Of *Englisb* Valour too he makes his Theme,
Whose Tragical account may Christned be,
New-Englands Travels through the Bloody Sea.
Drake gat renown by creeping round the old;
To Treat of this New World our Author's bold.

Names

Names uncouth which ne'r *Minsbew* could reduce
By's *Polyglotton* to the vulgar use.
Unheard of places, like some *New-Atlantis*,
Before in fancy only, now *Newlandis* :
New-found and subtil Stratagems of War,
We can quaint *Elton* and brave *Barriffe* spare :
New Discipline and Charges of Command
Are cloath'd in *Indian* by this *English* hand.
Moxon who drew two Globes, or whosoere,
Must make a third, or else the old ones tear,
To find a Room for thy new Map, by which
Thy Friends and Country all thou dost enrich.

Gratitudinis ergo apposit.

B. T.

(1)

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TROUBLES
WITH THE
INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND,

From the first Planting thereof, to the present Time.



Known unto God are all his works from the foundation of the World, though manifest to us only by the events of time, that fruitful mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at least did bring to light the knowledge of this Western World, called *America*, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obscure and remote Region, covered with a vail of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledge of all the rest of the Inhabitants of the Earth. To whom the honour of its investigation doth of right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the History and Reports of such as were ey-witnesses thereof, and not intended to be any part of the present disquisition. The most considerable part of all the North-side of *America*, is called *New England*. In the fertility of the Soil, salubrioness of the Air, and many other commodious advantages, most resembling the Countrey from whence it borrowed its appellation. For the knowledge thereof the World is most beholding to the discoveries of the *English*, under the conduct of *Sebastian Cabbot* a famous *Porteguez* about

* B

about the year 1497 : though since much perfected by the industry and travels of Captain *Gosnold*, Captain *Hudson*, Captain *Smith*, and others of the *English* Nation. *North-America*, this posthumous birth of time, is as to its nativity, of the same standing with her two elder Sisters, *Peru* and *Mexico* ; yet was suffered to lie in its Swadling cloaths one whole Century of years : Nature having promised no such Dowry of rich Mines of Silver and Gold to them that would espouse her for their own, as she did unto the other two, which possibly was the reason why she was not so hastily deflowered by her first discoverers, nor yet so early courted by any of the Princes of *Europe*, lying wholly neglected as it were, until a small company of Planters, under the command of Captain *George Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert*, were sent over at the charge of Sir *John Popham* in the year 1605, to begin a Colony upon a Tract of Land about *Saga de hoch*, situate on the south-side of the River of *Kennibeck*, and about that called *Shipscot River*, about twenty miles South-west from *Pemmaquid*, the most Northerly bound of all *New-England*. But that design within two years expiring with its first Founder ; soon after some honourable persons of the west of *England*, commonly called the Council of *Plimouth*, being more certainly informed of several Navigable Rivers and commodious Havens, with other places fit either for Traffick or Planting, newly discovered by many skilful Navigators, obtained a Grant by Patent, under the great Seal from King *James* of blessed memory, of all that part of *North-America*, called *New England*, from the 40 to the 48 gr. of North-Latitude. From which Grand and Original Patent, all other Charters and grants of Land from *Pemmaquid* to *Delaware Bay*, along the Sea-coast, derive their Linage and Pedigree. Thus was that vast tract of Land, after the year 1612, cantoned and parcelled out into many lesser Divisions and parcels, according as Adventurers presented ; which said Grants being founded upon uncertain, or false Descriptions, and Reports of some that travelled thither, did many of them interfere one upon another, to the great disturbance of the first Planters, and prejudice of the Proprietors themselves, as is too well known by any that have had occasion to stay never so little amongst them, many of whom are yet surviving. For notwithstanding the great charge and vast expences the first Adventurers were at, the first Proprietors of the whole Province of *Mayne* and others, (reaching from the head of *Casco Bay* North-east to the mouth of *Pascataqua River* about sixty miles Westward) and the hopes they might have conceived of being the first Founders of *New-Colonies*, and of enlarging their Estates and Inheritances by those new acquired possessions and Lordships, there was little profit reaped from thence,

thence after the rich fleeces of Beaver were gleaned away, nor any great improvement made of those large portions of Lands, save the erecting of some few Cottages for Fishermen, and a few inconsiderable Buildings for the Planters, which were on those occasions drawn over the Sea, to settle upon the most Northerly parts of *New-England*.

But whether it were by the imprudence of the first Adventurers, or the dissoluteness of the persons they sent over to manage their Affairs, or whither want of faithfulness or skill to manage their trust, they were by degrees in a manner quite destitute almost of Laws and Government, and left to shift for themselves, by which means at last they fell under the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts Colony*, not by Usurpation, as is by great mistake suggested to his Majesty, but by necessity, and the earnest desire of the Planters themselves; to accept of whom, those of the *Massachusetts Colony* were the more easily induced, in that they apprehended the bounds of their own Patent, by a favourable Interpretation of the words describing the Northern Line [Three miles beyond the most Northerly branch of *Merimack River*] do reach somewhat beyond *Pemmaquid*, the most Northerly place of all *New England*.

This was the first beginning of things in *New-England*, at which time they were not unlike the times of old, when the people of *Judah* were said to be without a Teaching Priest, and without Law; and no wonder things were no more successfully carried on.

In the Year 1620, a Company belonging to Mr. *Robinsons Church* at *Leyden* in *Holland*, although they had been courteously entertained by the *Dutch*, as Strangers sojourning amongst them, yet foreseeing many inconveniences like to increase, and that they could not so well provide for the good of their Posterity under the Government of a Foreign Nation: they resolved to intreat so much favour from their own Sovereign Prince, King *James*, as to grant them liberty under the shelter of his Royal Authority, to place themselves in some part of *New-England*, and newly discovered; therefore having obtained some kind of Patent or Grant, for some place about *Hudson's River*, they set sail from *Plymouth* in September for the Southern parts of *New England*; but as they intended to bend their course thitherward, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*; they were at last cast upon a bosom of the South Cape of the *Massachusetts Bay*, called *Cape Cod*, about the 11th of November, from whence the Winter so fast approaching, they had no opportunity to remove; and finding some encouragement from the hopefulness of the Soil, and courtesie of the Heathen, they resolved there to make their abode for the future, which they did, laying the foundation of a new Colony

lony, which from the remembrance of the last Town in England they sailed from, they called *New-Plimouth*; containing no very considerable Tract of Land, scarce extending an hundred miles in length through the whole Cape, and scarce half so much in breadth where it is broadest. The first Founders of that Colony aiming more at Religion than Earthly Possessions, aspiring not to any large dimension of Land, in their settling upon those Coasts.

At *Weymouth* also was a Plantation begun by Mr. *Weston* in the year 1622, but it came to little. The North and South Border of the *Massachusetts Bay* being thus planted, the middle part was the more easie to be filled up, which thus was brought about. Some Gentlemen and others, observing how it fared with those of *New-Plimouth*, were desiring upon the like ground to make the same attempt for themselves; wherefore having by a considerable sum of money purchased of some Gentlemen that had a Grant of the Council of *Plimouth*, all their right and interest in a Plantation there begun in the *Massachusetts Bay*; and having attained a confirmation thereof by Patent from King *Charles* of famous memory, in the year 1628, they sent over a Governour with several persons to lay some foundation of another Colony in the *Massachusetts Bay*: and in the year 1630, more of the persons interested in the said Patent (thence commonly called *Patentees*) with several other persons, intending to venture their lives and all with them, transported themselves and their Families into the said *Massachusetts*, who did in a short space of time by the accession of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make such increase, that in the space of five or six years, there were twenty considerable Towns built and peopled, and many of the Towns first planted, became so filled with Inhabitants, that like Swarms of Bees they were ready to swarm, not only into new Plantations, but into new Colonies: insomuch that in the year 1635, a new Colony began to be planted upon *Connecticut River*, partly by combination amongst themselves, removing from some Towns about the *Massachusetts Bay*, and partly by the interest of a Patent purchased of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Fennick*, Agent for the Lord *Sey*, and Lord *Brook*, the Lord Proprietors of the said River *Connecticut*; at the mouth of which River they had built a Fort (called after their own titles *Sey-Brook Fort*) commanding the passage of the said River. Yea such was the Confluence of people making over into those parts, that in the year 1637, a fourth Colony began to be planted, bearing the name of *Newhaven* from the first Town erected therein, seated near the midway betwixt *Hudson's River* and that of *Connecticut*. The Sea-coast from

the

the pitch of *Cape Cod* to the mouth of *Connecticut River*, inhabited by several Nations of *Indians*, *Wompanoggs* (the first Authors of the present Rebellion) *Narhagansets*, *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, as the more inland part of the Country by the *Nipmets* (a general name for all inland *Indians* betwixt the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut River*). The Sea-coast South-west from *Plimouth*, was first possessed by some discontented with the Government of the *Massachusetts* Colony, from which some being exiled, others of their friends accompanying of them, settled themselves upon a fair Island to the South-west of *Cape Cod*, now called *Road-Island*; others settled upon the *Mayn*, at a place called *Providence*, and so by degrees planting toward *Narhaganset Bay*, made another Plantation, called *Warwick*; which places are since by Patent conferred upon the Inhabitants of *Road Island*; the rest of the Country from *Pequod River* to the River of *Connecticut*, falling within the bounds of *Connecticut Colony* by Patent also, since confirmed to the said Colony. Things had been very prosperously and successfully carried on in all the aforesaid Colonies and Jurisdictions, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the *Narhaganset Indians*, the most warlike & fierce of all the *Indians* in that part of the Country, who had made all the rest of the *Indians* to stand in awe, having committed many barbarous outrages upon their neighbour *Indians*, both *Narhagansets* on the east-side, and *Mohegins* on the west side of them: and also upon the *English* and *Dutch*, as they came occasionally to traffick with them: and in the year 1634, having barbarously murdered Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton*, as they were trading with them. Afterwards one *Oldham* coming amongst them upon the like account. In like manner, having committed several outrages upon the Planters about *Connecticut River*, the Inhabitants of all the Colonies, unanimously setting upon them in the beginning of the year 1637, they were easily suppressed, about 700 of them destroyed, the rest either fled to the *Mohawkes*, by whom they were all cut off that escaped, or else sheltring themselves under the *Narhagansets* and *Mohegins* their neighbours, they were by the power of the *English* all subjected to one of those two Nations of the *Indians*. *Miantonimoh* the chief Sachem or Lord of the *Narhagansets*, expecting to be sole Lord and Ruler over all the *Indians*; after the *Pequods* were subdued, began to quarrel with the *Mohegins* upon the account of Sovereignty, notwithstanding a firm Agreement was made betwixt the *English* and the said *Narhagansets* in the year 1637, when they had helped to destroy the *Pequods*; and also notwithstanding the tripartite League between the said *Narhagansets*, the *Mohegins*, and the *English* at *Hartford* (the chief Town of *Connecti-*

cut Colony) made in the year 1638, wherein the said *Indians* were solemnly engaged not to quarrel either with the *Mohegins*, or any other *Indians*, until they had first asked the advice of the *English*, to whose determination they had likewise obliged themselves to stand in all following Differences among them. Yet these ambitious *Narhagansets* specially their chief Leader *Miantonimoh*, bare such an inveterate hatred against the *Mohegins*, that they were every year picking quarrels with them. The *Mohegins* on the other side though not so numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politick, always made their recourse to the *English*, complaining of the insolencies of the *Narhagansets*, contrary to their League, so as they would hardly be kept from making open War against them, when they saw all other attempts to kill and destroy *Uncas* the *Mohegin* Sachem, by Treachery, Poison and Sorcery, prove ineffectual. Inomuch, that at last the malice of *Miantonimoh* and his *Narhagansets* grew to that height, that they began to plot against the *English* themselves, for defending of *Uncas*. But it being discovered by *Uncas* and some of his men to the *English*, *Miantonimoh* was sent for by the *Massachusetts* Court to come to *Boston*; when he came there, he would have denied those things laid to his charge, but was convicted by one of his own fellows; and instead of standing to his promise, to deliver him to the *Mohegin* Sachem, whose Subject he was; going homeward he cut off his head, to prevent his telling more tales. And with great discontent as he was going home, said, He would come no more at *Boston*; wherein he proved a truer Prophet than he himself believed when he uttered the words: for in the end of the same year 1643, making War upon *Uncas*, he was taken prisoner by him, and soon after by the advice of the Commissioners of the four Colonies (at that time united firmly into a League offensive and defensive, on which account they were after that time called, The united Colonies of *New-England*, though since that time they are reduced but to three Colonies; that of *New-haven* and *Connecticut*, by the last Patent being conjoined in one): his head was cut off by *Uncas*, it being justly feared, that there would never be any firm peace, either betwixt the *English* and the *Narhagansets*, or betwixt the *Narhagansets* and the *Mohegins*, while *Miantonimoh* was left alive; however the *Narhagansets* have ever since that time born an implacable malice against *Uncas*, and all the *Mohegins*, and for their sakes secretly against the *English*, so far as they durst discover it.

In the Years 1645, and 1646, they grew so insolent, that the Commissioners of the united Colonies were compelled to raise Forces to go against them: but when they perceived that the *English* were in good earnest,

earnest, they began to be afraid, and sued for peace, and submitted to pay a tribute to satisfy for the charge of preparation for the War, but were always very backward to make payment, until the *English* were forced to demand it by new Forces; so that it appeared they were unwillingly willing to hold any friendly correspondence with the *English*, yet durst they never make any open attempt upon them, until the present Rebellion, wherein that they had no small hand, is too too evident, notwithstanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel of this History.

Thus it is apparent upon what Terms the *English* stood with the *Narragansets*, ever since the cutting off *Miantonimoh*, their chief Sachems head by *Uncas*, it being done from the advice and Counsel of the *English*, Anno 1643. As for the rest of the *Indians*, ever since the suppressing of the *Pequods* in the year 1637, until the year 1675, there was always in appearance amity and good correspondence on all sides, scarce an English man was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by any of them, until after the year 1671, when the son of one *Matoonas*, who as was supposed, being vexed in his mind that the design against the *English*, intended to begin 1671, did not take place, out of meer malice and spite against them, slew an English man travelling along the Road: the said *Matoonas* being a *Nipnet*-Indian, which *Nipnets* were under the command of the Sachem of *Mount-hope*, the Author of all the present mischiefs. Upon a due Enquiry into all preceding transactions between the *Indians* and the *English*, from their first settling in these coasts, there will appear no ground of quarrel that any of them had against the *English*, nor any appearance of provocation upon one account or other; for when *Plimouth* Colony was first planted, within three months after their first landing, March 16. 1620, *Massasoit* the chief Sachem of all that side of the Countrey, repaired to the *English* at *Plimouth*, and entered into a solemn League upon sundry Articles, printed in *N. E. Memorial* 1669. p. 24, the words are as followeth:

1. **T**HAT neither he, nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the Offendor that they might punish him.
3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.
4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they should aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That

5. That he should send to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these Conditions of Peace.

6. That when his Men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their Arms (which were then Bows and Arrows) behind them.

7. Lastly, That so doing, their Sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his Friend and Ally.

The which League the same Sachim, Sept. 25. 1630, a little before his death, coming with his eldest son, afterwards called *Alexander*, did renew with the *English* at the Court of *Plimouth*, for himself and his Son, and their Heirs and Successors: and after that he came to Mr. *Brown's*, that lived not far from *Mount Hope*, bringing his two Sons, *Alexander* and *Philip* with him, desiring that there might be Love and Amity after his death, between his Sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former times: yet it is very remarkable, that this *Massasoit*, called also *Woosamequen* (how much soever he affected the *English*, yet) was never in the least degree any ways well-affected to the Religion of the *English*, but would in his last Treaty with his Neighbours at *Plimouth*, when they were with him about purchasing some Land at *Swanzy*, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his People from their old *Pagan* superstition, and devilish Idolatry, to the Christian Religion, and did much insist upon it till he saw the *English* were resolved never to make any Treaty with him more upon that account; which when he discerned, he did not further urge it: but that was a bad Omen, that notwithstanding whatever his humanity were to the *English*, as they were Strangers (for indeed they had repayed his former kindness to them, by protecting him afterwards against the insolencies of the *Narhagansets*) he manifested no small displacency of spirit against them, as they were Christians: which strain was evident more in his Son that succeeded him, and all his People, insomuch that some discerning persons of that Jurisdiction, have feared that that Nation of *Indians* would all be rooted out, as is since come to pass. The like may be observed concerning the *Narhagansets*, who were always more civil and courteous to the *English* than any of the other *Indians*, yet never as yet received the least tincture of Christian Religion, but have in a manner run the same fate with the rest of their Neighbours of *Mount Hope*, there being very few of them now left standing. Nor is it unworthy the Relation, what a person of quality amongst us hath of late affirmed one being much conversant with the *Indians* about *Merimack River*, being Anno 1660; invited

invited by some Sagamores or Sachims to a great Dance (which solemnities are the times they make use of to tell their stories, and convey the knowledge of forepast and most memorable things to Posterity). *Passaconaway* the great Sachim of that part of the Country, intending at that time to make his last and farewell speech to his Children and People, that were then all gathered together, he addressed himself to them in this manner :

I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more ; I will now leave this word of Counsel with you, that you take heed how you quarrel with the English ; for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the Earth if you do : for, said he, I was as much an enemy to the English at their first coming into these parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them sitting down here, but I could no way effect it ; (it is to be noted that this Passaconaway was the most noted Pawaw and Sorcerer of all the Country) therefore I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them. And accordingly his eldest Son Wonnalancet by name, as soon as he perceived that the Indians were up in Arms, he withdrew himself into some remote place, that he might not be hurt by the English, or the Enemies, or be in danger by them.

This passage was thought fit to be inserted here, it having so near an agreement with the former, intimating some secret awe of God upon the hearts of some of the principal amongst them, that they durst not hurt the English, although they bear no good affection to their Religion ; wherein they seem not a little to imitate *Balaam*, who whatever he uttered when he was under the awful power of divine illumination, yet when left to himself, was as bad an Enemy to the Israel of God, as ever before.

But to return whence there hath been this Digression :

After the death of this *Woosamequen* or *Massasoit*, his eldest Son succeeded him about twenty years since, *Alexander* by name, who notwithstanding the League he had entred into with the English, together with his Father, in the year 1639, had neither affection to the Englishmens persons, nor yet to their Religion, but had been plotting with the *Narhagansets* to rise against the English ; of which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* being informed, they presently sent for him to bring him to the Court ; the person to whom that service was committed, was a prudent and resolute Gentleman, the present Governour of the said Colony, who was neither afraid of Danger, nor yet willing to delay in a

matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said *Alexanders* dwelling, distant at least forty miles from the Governours house; but by a good providence, he found him whom he went to seek at an Hunting-house, within six miles of the English Towns, where the said *Alexander* with about eighty men were newly come in from Hunting, and had left their Guns without doors, which Major *Winslow* with his small company wisely seized, and conveyed away, and then went into the Wigwam, and demanded *Alexander* to go along with him before the Governor, at which message he was much appall'd; but being told by the undaunted Messenger, that if he stir'd or refused to go, he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief Councillors, in whose advice he most confided, perswaded to go along to the Governors house; but such was the pride and height of his spirit, that the very surprizal of him, so raised his choler and indignation, that it put him into a Fever, which notwithstanding all possible means that could be used, seemed mortal; whereupon entreating those that held him Prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his Son as Hostage till he could so do; on that consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half-way home. Here let it be observed, that although some have taken up false Reports, as if the English had compelled him to go further or faster than he was able, and so fell into a Fever; or as if he were not well used by the Physician that looked to him, while he was with the English, all which are notoriously false; nor is it to be imagined that a person of so noble a disposition as is that Gentleman (at that time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any else to be uncivil to a person allied to them by his own, as well as his Fathers League, as the said *Philip* also was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to the English of *Plimouth*, by the said *Alexanders* Brother, by name *Philip*, commonly for his ambitious and haughty Spirit nick-named *King Philip*; when he came in the year 1662, in his own person with *Saujaman* his Secretary and chief Counsellor to renew the former league that had been between his Predecessors and the English of *Plimouth*; but there was as much correspondence betwixt them for the next seven years, as ever had been in any former times: what can be imagined therefore, besides the instigation of Satan, that either envied at the prosperity of the Church of God here seated; or else fearing lest the power of the Lord Jesus, that had overthrown his Kingdom in other parts of the World, should do the like here, and so the stone taken out of the Mountain without hands, should become a great Mountain it self, and fill the whole

whole Earth, no cause of provocation being given by the English; For once before this, in the year 1671, the Devil, who was a Murderer from the beginning, had so filled the heart of this salvage Miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to break out into open War against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, pretending some petite injuries done to him in planting Land; but when the matter of Controversie came to be heard before divers of the *Massachusetts Colony*: yea when he himself came to *Boston*, as it were referring his case to the Judgment of that Colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear; Whereupon in way of submission, he was of necessity by that evident conviction, forced to acknowledg that it was the naughtiness of his own heart that put him upon that Rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the English; and to a Confession of this nature, with a solemn renewal of his Covenant, declaring his desire, that this his Covenant might testify to the World against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of *Plimouth*, or any other of the English Colonies therein; himself with his chief Councillors subscribed in the presence of some Messengers sent on purpose to hear the difference between *Plimouth* and the said *Philip*. But for further satisfaction of the Reader, the said Agreement and submission shall be here published.

Taunton, April 10th, 1671.

WHereas my Father, my Brother, and my self, have formerly submitted our selves and our People unto the Kings Majesty of England, and to the Colony of New-Plimouth, by solemn Covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart, violated and broken this my Covenant with my Friends, by taking up Arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers Friends above-mentioned, and do desire this may testify to the World against me if ever I shall again fail in my Faithfulness towards them (that I have now, and at all times found so kind to me) or any other of the English Colonies; and as a real pledg of my true intentions for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to resign up unto the Government of New-Plimouth, all my English Arms, to be kept by them for their security,

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A Narrative of the Troubles

so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of the premises I have hereunto set my hand, together with the rest of my Council :

In presence of

William Davis

William Hudson.

Thomas Brattle.

The mark of *P. Philip*

chief Sachem of *Pocanoket.*

The Mark of *V. Tavofer.*

The Mark of m Capt. *Wisposse.*

The Mark of *T. Woonkaponchunt.*

The Mark of 8 *Nimrod.*

TO which for the further clearing the Justice of the present War, the Result of the debate of the Commissioners of the united Colonies about the matter of the War, shall be here inserted.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held at
Boston, September 9th, 1675.

WE having received from the Commissioners of *Plimouth*, a Narrative, shewing the Rise and several steps of that Colony, as to the present War with the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progress into the *Massachusetts*, by their insolencies and outrages, murdering many persons, and burning their Houses in sundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having only considered the same, do declare, that the said War doth appear to be both just and necessary, and its first Rise only a defensive War. And therefore we do agree and conclude, That it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united Colonies, and the Charges thereof to be born and paid, as is agreed in the *Articles of Confederation.*

John Winthrop.

James Richards.

Thomas Danforth.

William Stoughton.

Josiah Winslow.

Thomas Hinckley.

Yet whatever his submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his people to our King, or his engagement to pay a sum of money in part of the Charges then occasioned by him (nor have the English in or about *Plimouth*, since, or before that time been any ways injurious unto him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a Narrative given by the Commissioners of the Colony of *Plimouth*, wherein they also signify that the settlement and issue of the former Controver-

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tie between *Philip* and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and interposed advice and counsel of the other two confederate Colonies, and also in a Letter under the Governors hand, in these words,---*I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of Land in this Colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian Proprietors; Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in streights easily prevailed with to part with their Lands, we first made a Law, that none should purchase or receive of gift any Land of the Indians without the knowledg and allowance of our Court, and penalty of a Fine, five pound per Acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be streightned, we Ordered that Mount-Hope, Pocasset and several other Necks of the best land in the Colony (because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our neighbours at Rehoboth, and Swanzy, although they bought their Lands fairly of this Philip and his Father and Brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial Fence quite across that great Neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due damage if at any time any unruly Horse or other beasts brake in and trespassed. And for divers years last past (that all occasions of offence in that respect might be prevented); the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain sum yearly to maintain the said Fence, and secure themselves. And if at any time they have brought Complaints before us, they have had Justice impartial and speedily; so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them overmuch favour.*

Marshfield, May 1.

Jof. Winslow.

1676.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious Caitiff still harbour the same or more mischievous thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that time plotting with all the *Indians* round about to make a general insurrection against the English in all the Colonies; which as some prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in execution at once, by all the *Indians* rising as one man, against all those plantations of English which were next them. The *Narhagansets* having promised, as was confessed, to rise with 4 thousand fighting men in the Spring of this present year 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about *Sausaman*, *Philip* was necessitated for
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the safety of his own life to begin his Rebellion the year before, when the Design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the foresaid Murther of *Sausaman*, his heart might have failed him, when it should have come to be put in execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of his Captains, of far better Courage and resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, sling down his Arms, calling him *white Liver'd Cur*, or to that purpose, and saying, That he would never own him again, or fight under him, and from that time hath turned to the English, and hath continued to this day a faithful and resolute Soldier in their quarrel.

That the *Indians* had a Conspiracy amongst themselves to rise against the English, is confirmed by some of the *Indians* about *Hadly*, although the plot was not come to maturity when *Philip* began, the special providence of God therein over-ruling the Contrivers: For when the beginning of the Troubles first was reported from *Mount-Hope*, many of the *Indians* were in a kind of Maze, not knowing well what to do; sometimes ready to stand for the English, as formerly they had been wont to do; sometimes inclining to strike in with *Philip* (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing than any other ways: the English never imagining that after so many obliging kindnesses received from them by the *Indians*, besides their many Engagements and Protestations of Friendship, as formerly, they would have been so ungrateful, perfidiously false and cruel as they have since proved.

The occasion of *Philips* so sudden taking up Arms the last year, was this: There was one *John Sausaman* a very cunning and plausible *Indian*, well skilled in the English Language, and bred up in the profession of Christian Religion, employed as a Schoolmaster at *Natick*, the *Indian* Town, who upon some misdemeanour fled from his place to *Philip*, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a Secretary, and his chief Councillor, whom he trusted with all his affairs and secret counsels: But afterwards, whether upon the sting of his own Conscience, or by the frequent Sollicitations of Mr. *Eliot*, that had known him from a child, and instructed him in the principles of our Religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his Apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit; he was at last prevailed with to forsake *Philip*, and return back to the Christian *Indians* at *Natick*, where he was baptized, manifested publick Repentance for all his former offences,
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and made a serious profession of the Christian Religion : and did apply himself to preach to the *Indians*, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation ; so as he was observed to conform more to the English manners than any other Indian : yet having occasion to go up with some others of his Country-men to *Namasket*, whether for the advantage of Fishing, or some such occasion, it matters not ; being there not far from *Philips Country*, he had occasion to be much in the company of *Philips Indians*, and of *Philip* himself : by which means he discerned by several circumstances, that the *Indians* were plotting anew against us ; the which out of faithfulness to the *English*, the said *Sausaman* informed the Governour of ; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information ; some inquiry was made into the business, by examining *Philip* himself, and several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion ; *Philip* therefore soon after contrived the said *Sausamans* death, which was strangely discovered ; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the Ice on a great Pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat upon the Ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice, and was drowned : but being missed by his Friends, who finding his Hat and his Gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the Ice : when they took it up to bury him, some of his Friends, specially one *David*, observed some bruises about his Head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down, before he was put into the water : however, they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at present : nevertheless *David* his friend, reported these things to some English at *Taunton* (a Town not far from *Namasket*), it occasioned the Governour to inquire further into the business, wisely considering, that as *Sausaman* had told him, If it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains : wherefore by special Warrant the body of *Sausaman* being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a strange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident standing unseen upon a Hill, had seen them murder the said *Sausaman*, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the Court at *Plimouth*, or before the Governour, where he plainly

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confessed vvhhat he had seen. The Murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable Testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being but three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, That his Father (one of the Councillors and special Friends of *Philip*) was one of the two that murdered *Sausaman*, himself only looking on. This was done at *Plimouth-Court*, held in *June 1675*. Infomuch, that *Philip* apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about *Sausamans* death: but by keeping his men continually about him in Arms, and gathering what Strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in Arms, both all the while the Court sat, as vvell as afterwards; the English of *Plimouth* hearing of all this, yet took no further notice, than only to order a Militia Watch in all the adjacent Towns, hoping that *Philip* finding himself not likely to be Arraigned by order of the said Court, the present Cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before; but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise; for *Philip* finding his Strength daily increasing, by the flocking of Neighbour-Indians unto him, and sending over their Wives and Children to the *Narhagan-sets* for security (as they use to do vvhhen they intend War with any of their Enemies); Immediately they began to Alarm the English at *Swanzy* (the next Town to *Philips* Country) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their insolencies grew to such an height, that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their Cattel and rife their Houses; vvhhereat an English-man was so provoked, that he let fly a Gun at an *Indian*, but did only wound, not kill him; where-upon the *Indians* immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of *June 1675*, vvas the Alarm of War first founded in *Plimouth-Colony*, vvhhen eight or nine of the English were slain in and about *Swanzy*: They first making a shot at a Company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they were met in way of humiliation that day, vvhwhereby they killed one and wounded others: and then likewise at the same time, they slew two men on the High-way, sent to call a Surgeon, and barbarously the same day murdered six men in and about a dwelling-House in another part of the Town: all which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any resistance. For on the 14th of the same Month, besides endeavours used by Mr. *Brown* of *Swanzy*, one of the Magistrates of *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, an amicable Letter was sent from the Council of *Blimouth* to *Philip*, shewing

shewing their dislike of his practises, and advising him to dismiss his strange *Indians*, and not suffer himself to be abused by false reports concerning them that intended him no hurt: but no answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatening of War, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things seemed to look with as bad face as then they did. However the Governor and Council of *Plimouth*, understanding that *Philip* continued in his resolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, they immediately sent up what Forces they could to secure the Towns thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion might be; and also dispatched away Messengers to the *Massachusetts* Governour and Council, letting them know the state of things about *Mount-hope*: and desiring their speedy assistance: upon which, care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such supplies as were desired: But in the mean time two Messengers were dispatched to *Philip*, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody enterprise, so to have prevented the mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, viz. Anno 1671, by their mediation, a stop was put to the like Tragedy; so the present War might by the same means have been now turned aside. For in the said year, *Philip* had firmly engaged himself, when he was at *Boston*, not to quarrel with *Plimouth* until he had first addressed himself to the *Massachusetts* for advice and approbation: But the two Messengers aforelaid, finding the men slain in the Road, June 24, as they were going for the Chyrurgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a peace now could not honourably be concluded after such barbarous outrages committed upon some of the neighbour Colony: Wherefore, returning with all speed to *Boston*, the *Massachusetts* Forces were dispatched away with all imaginable haste, as the exigent of the matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their March; the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first engagement in any warlike preparations against the *Indians*, shall be more particularly declared.

On the 26th of June a Foot-Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were sent out of *Boston* toward *Mount Hope*; it being late in the afternoon before they began to March, the central Eclipse of the Moon in *Capric.* hapned in the evening before they came up to *Naponset River*, about twenty miles from *Boston*, which occasioned them to make an halt, for a little repast, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholy Fanciers would not be perswaded, but that the Eclipse falling out at that instant of time,

was ominous, conceiving also that in the centre of the Moon they discerned an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an *Indian*: As some others not long before, imagined they saw the form of an *Indian Bow*, accounting that likewise ominous (although the mischief following was done by Guns, not by Bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what *Marcus Crassus*, the Roman General, going forth with an Army against the *Parthians*, once wisely replied to a private Souldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching that time, because of an Eclipse of the Moon in *Capricorn* [*That he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus*] meaning the *Arrows* of the *Parthians* (accounted very good Archers) from whom, as things then fell out, was his greatest danger. But after the Moon had waded through the dark shadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the help thereof the two Companies marched on toward *Woodcocks* House, thirty miles from *Boston*, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of *Voluntiers*, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Mosely*, which accordingly came to pass; so as on *June 28* they all arrived at *Swanzy*, where by the advice of Captain *Cudworth* the Commander in chief of *Plimouth* Forces, they were removed to the Head-Quarters; which for that time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his house, the Minister of *Swanzy*, within a quarter of a mile of the Bridg leading into *Philips* Lands. They arriving there some little time before night, twelve of the Troopers unwilling to loose time, passed over the Bridg, for discovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten *Indians* firing upon them out of the Bushes, killing one *William Hammond*, wounding Corporal *Belcher*, his Horse being also shot down under him; the rest of the said Troopers having discharged upon those *Indians* that ran away after their first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded Companions, and so retired to the main Guard for that night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his house. The Enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at the first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the *Massachusetts* & *Plimouth* Forces both engaged against them: for the next morning they shouted twice or thrice, at half a miles distance, and nine or ten of them shewing themselves on this side the Bridg: our Horsemen with the whole body of the Privateers under Captain *Mosely*, not at all daunted by such kind of Alarms, nor willing so to lose the Bridg, ran violently down upon them over the said Bridg, pursuing them a mile and quarter on the other side: Ensign

Savage

Savage, that young Martial Spark, scarce twenty years of age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the brim of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he boldly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company: but the weather not suffering any further action at that time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Guard, having first made a shot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at *Narhaganset*: This resolute charge of the English-Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their place on *Mount-hope* that very night, where *Philip* was never seen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine Mandate sent back, there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief. The next day Major *Savage* (that was to command in chief over the *Massachusetts* Forces, being come up with other Supplies about six a-clock over night) the whole Body intended to march into *Mount Hope*, and there beat up the Enemies quarters, or give him Battel, if he durst abide it: but the weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a Troop of Horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the Enemies Ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and half, they passed by some Houses newly burned: not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about by the Enemy, in hatred of our Religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some Heads, Scalps, and Hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhumane manner bidding us Defiance; the Commander in chief giving Order that those monuments of the Enemies cruelty should be taken down, and buried: the whole body of the Forces still marched on, two miles further, where they found divers Wigwams of the Enemy, amongst which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the Owners; half a mile further, as they passed through many Fields of stately Corn, they found *Philips* own Wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the Enemies hasty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the Sea side, yet in all this time meeting with no *Indians*, nor any sign of them, unless of their flight to some other places. The season like to prove very tempestuous, and rainy, Captain *Cudworth* with some of the men of *Plimouth* passed over to *Road-Island*. The Forces under Major *Savage* were forced to abide all night in the open Field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that

fell; and in the morning, despairing to meet with any Enemy on *Mount-Hope*, they retreated back to their Quarters at *Swanzy*, in the way meeting with many *Indian* dogs, that seemed to have lost their Masters. That night Captain *Prentice* his Troop for conveniency of Quarters, as also for discovery, was dismissed to lodg at *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, a Town within six mile of *Swanzy*. As they returned back in the morning, Captain *Prentice* divided his Troop, delivering one half to Lieutenant *Oakes*, and keeping the other himself, who as they rode along, espied a company of *Indians* burning an house; but could not pursue them by reason of several Fences, that they could not go over till the *Indians* had escaped into a Swamp. Those with Lieutenant *Oaks* had the like discovery, but with better success, as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing of them upon a plain, they slew four or five of them in the Chase, whereof one was known to be *Thebe*, a Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, another of them was a chief Councillor of *Philips*; yet in this attempt the Lieutenant lost one of his company, *John Druce* by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he soon after died, to the great grief of his companions. After the said Troop came up to the Head-Quarters at *Swanzy*, they understood from Captain *Cudworth* that the Enemy were discovered upon *Pocasset*, another neck of Land lying over an Arm of the Sea, more towards *Cape Cod*: However, it was resolved that a more narrow search should be made after them, both upon *Mount-Hope*, and upon the ground between *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth* to scour the swamps, and assault them, if they could find where they were entrenched. Captain *Henchman*, and Captain *Prentice*, were ordered to search the Swamps; while Captain *Mosely*, and Captain *Page* with his Dragoons attending on Major *Savage*, should return back into *Mount-Hope*, that they might be sure to leave none of the Enemy behind them, when they should remove to pursue them elsewhere.

About ten a clock the next Morning, *July 4*, Captain *Henchman* after a long and tedious March, came to the Head-Quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the Enemy had newly been that night, but were escaped out of his reach: But that night before they were determined of any other motion, Captain *Hutchinson* came up from *Boston* with new Orders for them to pass into *Narhaganset*, to treat with the Sachems there, and if it might be, to prevent their joyning with *Philip*. Capt. *Cudworth*, by this time was come up to the Head-Quarters, having left a Garison of forty men upon *Mount-hope Neck*. The next morning was spent in consultation how to carry on the Treaty; it was then resolved that they should go to make a peace with a Sword in their hands

hands, having no small ground of suspicion that the said *Narhagansets* might joyn with the Enemy; wherefore, they thought it necessary to carry all the *Massachusetts* Forces over into the *Narhaganset* Country, to fight them, if there should be need; Captain *Mosely* passed over by water to attend Captain *Hutchinson* in his dispatch; the other Companies with the Troopers riding round about: as they passed, they found the *Indians* in *Pophams* Country (next adjoyning to *Philips* Borders) all fled, and their *Wigwams* without any people in them.

After they came to the *Narhaganset* Sachems, three or four days were spent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded on sundry Articles between the Messengers of *Connecticut* Colony (who were ordered to meet with those of the *Massachusetts*) and the Commanders of the Forces sent against *Philip*: Hostages were also given by the said *Narhagansets* for the performance of the agreement. A Copy of the said Agreement, and the Articles on which a Peace was concluded, here follow. It being always understood, that *Plimouth* Colony was included in the said Agreement, although their Forces were not then present, but remained at home near the Enemies Borders, to secure their Towns, and oppose *Philip* as there might be occasion, if he offered to make any new attempt in the mean time.

A Articles, Covenants and Agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major Thomas Savage, Captain Edward Hutchinson, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, in behalf of the Government of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Major Wait Winthrop, and Mr. Richard Smith on behalf of *Connecticut* Colony on the one party, and *Agamaug*, *Wompsh*, alias *Corman*, *Taitson*, *Tawageson*, *Councillors* and *Attornies* to *Canonicus*; *Ninigret*, *Matataog*, old *Queen* *Quaiapen*, *Quananshit* & *ompham* the six present Sachims of the whole *Narhaganset* Country on the other party, referring to several differences and troubles lately risen between them; and for a final conclusion of settled Peace and Amity between the said Sachims, their Heirs and Successors for ever, and the Governours of the said *Massachusetts*, and *Connecticut*, and their Successors in the said Governments for ever.

1. That all and every of the said Sachims shall from time to time carefully sieze, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the abovesaid Governments, all and every of Sachim *Philips* Subjects whatsoever, that shall come

or

or be found within the precincts of any of their Lands, and that with greatest diligence and faithfulness.

II. That they shall with their utmost ability use all Acts of Hostility against the said Philip and his Subjects, entering his Lands or any other Lands of the English, to kill and destroy the said Enemy, until a cessation from war with the said Enemy be concluded by both the abovesaid Colonies.

III. That the said Sachims, by themselves and their Agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken by any of their Subjects from any of the English, whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the Estate of any of the Subjects of the several Colonies, according to the judgment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfaction between the Offenders and the Offended Parties, or deliver the Offenders.

IV. That all Preparations for War, or Acts of Hostility against any of the English Subjects, shall for ever for the future cease; together with all manner of Thefts, Pilferings, killing of Cattel, or any any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a Guard round about the Narhaganset Country, for the English Inhabitants Safety and security.

V. In token of the abovesaid Sachims reality in this Treaty and Conclusion, and for the security of the several English Governments and Subjects, they do freely deliver unto the abovesaid Gentlemen, in the behalf of the abovesaid Colonies, John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, four of their near Kinsmen and choice Friends, to be and remain as Hostages in several places of the English Jurisdictions, at the appointment of the Honourable Governours of the abovesaid Colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as Prisoners, but otherwise at their Honours Discretion, until the abovesaid Articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several Governments, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted breach of the Peace, and these present Articles.

VI. The said Gentlemen in the behalf of the Governments to which they do belong, do engage to every the said Sachims and their Subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either the abovesaid English Governments, or to Mr. Smith, Inhabitants of Narhaganset, Philip Sachim alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains, for Trucking-cloth Coats; in case they bring his Head, they shall have twenty like good Coats paid them: for every living Subject of said Philips so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two Coats, and for ever Head one Coat, as a Gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction, that the Heads or Persons are belonging to the Enemy, and that they are of their seizure.

VII. The

VII. *The said Sachims do renew and confirm unto the English Inhabitants or others, all former Grants, Sails, Bargains or Conveyances of Lands, Meadows, Timber, Grass, Stones, or whatsoever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their Heirs, and Assigns for ever; as also all former Articles made with the Confederate Colonies.*

Lastly, The said Councillors and Attorneys do premeditatedly, seriously, and upon good advice, Covenant, Conclude and Agree all abovesaid solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true Friends to the English Government, and perform the abovesaid Articles punctually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein: In witness whereof they have set their Hands and Seals. Petaquanscot July 15. 1675.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the
presence of us underwritten, being
carefully Interpreted to the said
Indians before Sealing.

Tawageson his mark C.
Taytson his mark D.
Agamaug his mark T.
Wampsh, alias *Corman*.
his mark X.

Daniel Henchman.

Thomas Prentice.

Nicholas Paige.

Joseph Stanton Interpreter.

Henry Hawlaws.

Pecot Bukow.

Job Neff.

During this Treaty of peace with the *Narhagansets*, Captain *Cudworth* with the Forces of *Plimouth* under his Command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, *sc.* to make War whilst the other were (as they thought) making peace: in the first place therefore he dispatched Captain *Fuller* (joyning Lieutenant *Church* together with him in Commission) with fifty in his Company to *Pocasset*; on the same account, as the other went to *Narhaganset*, either to conclude a Peace with them, if they would continue Friends, and give Hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves Enemies, and join with *Philip*; himself intending to draw down his Forces to *Rehoboth*, to be ready for a speedy March to *Taunton*, and so down into the other side of the Country; upon the news that some of the Enemy were burning and spoiling of *Middleburrough* and *Dartmouth*, two small Villages lying in the vway betwixt.

betwixt *Pocasset* and *Plimouth*. Upon Thursday July 7, Captain *Fuller* with Captain *Church* went into *Pocasset* to seek after the Enemy, or else as occasion might serve, to treat with those *Indians* at *Pocasset*, wvith whom Mr. *Church* was very well acquainted, always holding good correspondence with them: After they had spent that day and most of the night, in traversing the said *Pocasset Neck*, and Watching all night in an House which they found there, yet could hear no tidings of any *Indians*; insomuch that Captain *Fuller* began to be weary of his design: Mr *Church* in the mean while assuring him, that they should find *Indians* before it were long: yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Captain *Fuller* taking down toward the Sea-side, where it seems after some little skirmishing with them, wherein one man only received a small Wound, he either saw or heard too many *Indians* for himself and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to an House near the Water-side, from whence they were fetched off by a Sloop before night to *Road-Island*. Captain *Church* (for so may he well be stiled after this time) marched further into the *Neck*, imagining that if there were *Indians* in the *Neck*, they should find them about a peas-field not far off; as soon as ever they came near the said Field, he espied two *Indians* in the pease, who also had at the same time espied him, and presently making some kind of shout, a great number of *Indians* came about the Field, pursuing the said Capt. *Church* and his men in great numbers to the sea-side: there being not above fifteen with *Church*, yet seven or eight score of the *Indians* pursuing after them. Now was a fit time for this young Captain and his small company to handsel their valour upon this great rout of *Indians*, just ready to devour them: But Victory stands no more in the number of Soldiers, than Verity in the plurality of voices: And although some of these fifteen had scarce courage enough for themselves, yet their Captain had enough for himself, and some to spare for his Friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full. When he saw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight stoutly, and (possibly by some divine impression upon his heart) assured them not a bullet of the Enemy should hurt any one of them; which one of the Company, more dismayed than the rest, could hardly believe, till he saw the proof of it in his own person; for the Captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather Rocks together for a kind of shelter and Baricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the Enemies. It chanced as this faint-hearted Soldier had a flat stone in his arms, and was carrying it to the shelter that he was making
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upon the Bank, a bullet of the Enemy was thus warded from his Body. by which he must else have perished, which experience put new life into him, so as he followed his business very manfully afterward; insomuch that they defended themselves under a small shelf hastily made up all that afternoon, not one being either slain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at least fifteen of their Enemies: and at the last, when they had spent all their Ammunition, and made their Guns unserviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. *Goldings* Sloop, and carried safe to *Road-Island* in despite of all their Enemies; yea, such was the bold and undaunted courage of this Champion Capt. *Church*, that he was not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, that in the face of his Enemies he went back to fetch his Hat, which he had left at a Spring; whither the extreame heat of the weather, and his labour in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his thirst an hour or two before. It seems in the former part of the same day, five men coming from *Road-Island*, to look up their Cattel upon *Pocasset Neck*, were assaulted by the same Indians, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, vvho had his Leg broke in the Skirmish, the rest hardly escaping with their lives: this was the first time that ever any mischief was done by the Indians upon *Pocasset-Neck*. Those of *Road-Island* were hereby Alarmed to look to themselves, as well as the rest of the English of *Plimouth*, or the *Massachusetts-Colony*.

This Assault rather heightened and increased, than daunted the courage of Capt. *Church*; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the Sloop aforesaid, after his Ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at *Road-Island*, but halted over to the *Massachusetts* Forces, and borrowing three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant, Mr. *Church* and he returned again to *Pocasset*, where they had another skirmish with the Enemy, wherein some few of them, fourteen or fifteen were slain, which struck such a terror into *Philip*, that he betook himself to the Swamps about *Pocasset*, where he lay hid till the return of the rest of the Forces from the *Narragansets*, like a wild Boar kept at a Bay by this small party, till more hands came up.

Thus were the *Plimouth* Forces busied, during the time of the Treaty with the *Narragansets*, which being issued as it was,

On Friday July 15, Our Forces marched for, and arrived at *Rehoboth*, where having no intelligence of the Enemy nearer than a great Swamp on *Pocasset*, eighteen miles from *Taunton*; they marched next day twelve miles to an House at *Matapoiset* (a small Neck of Land in the bottom

of *Taunton-Bay*, in the mid-way between *Mount-hope* and *Pocasset-Neck*) from whence they marched for *Taunton*, *July 17*, whither after a tedious March of twenty miles they came in the evening, and found the People generally gathered into eight *Garison Houses* :

On Monday *July 18*, they marched eighteen miles before they could reach the Swamp where the Enemy was lodged : as soon as ever they came to the place, *Plimouth Forces* being now joined with them, our Soldiers resolutely entred in amongst the Enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a shot at them that first entred, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose wounds proved mortal : After the first shot, the Enemy presently retired deeper into the Swamp, deserting their *Wigwams* (about an hundred in all) newly made of green Barks, so as they would not burn : in one of them they found an old man, who confessed that *Philip* had been lately there : having spent some time in searcing the Swamp, and tired themselves to no purpose (yet it was said, one half hour more would have at that time utterly subdued *Philip* and all his power), the Commander in chief (night drawing on apace) not thinking it safe to tarry longer in so dangerous a place (where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as of his foes, being ready to fire upon every Bush they see move (supposing *Indians* were there) ordered a Retreat to be sounded, that they might have time to dispose of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended : *Plimouth Forces* who had entred the rear, retreating in the front. It was judged, that the Enemy being by this means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needless charge to keep so many Companies of Soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable Enemy, now almost as good as taken : whereupon most of the Companies belonging to the *Massachusetts* were drawn off, only *Capt. Henchman* with an hundred Foot being left there, together with *Plimouth Forces*, to attend the Enemies motion, being judged sufficient for that end. *Major Savage*, *Capt. Paige*, with *Capt. Mosely* and their Companies, returned to *Boston* : *Capt. Prentice* with his Troop were ordered toward *Mendham*, where it seems, about the middle of *July*, some *Indians*, wishing well to *Philips* design, had made an assault upon some of the Inhabitants, as they were at their labour in the Field, killing five or six of them : as soon as they had done, flying away into the Woods, so as they could not easily be pursued : The Inhabitants of the same Village, lying so in the heart of the Enemies Country, began to be discouraged, so as within a little time after they forsook the place, abandoning their Houses to the fury of the
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the Enemy, which by them were soon after turned into ashes. But to return to King *Philip*, who was now lodged in the great Swamp upon *Pocasset-Neck* of seven miles long: Capt. *Henchman* and the *Plimouth* Forces kept a diligent eye upon the Enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark Swamp, being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal Woods, when their eyes were muffled with the leaves, and their arms pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually shackled with the roots spreading every way in those boggy Woods. It is ill fighting with a wild Beast in his own den. They resolved therefore to starve them out of the Swamp, where they knew full well they could not long subsist. To that end they began to build a Fort, as it were to beleague the Enemy, and prevent his escape out of the place, where they thought they had him fast enough. *Philip* in the mean time was not ignorant of what was doing without, and was ready therein to read his own doom, so as if he tarried much longer there, he knew he should fall into their hands, from whom he could expect no mercy: The case being therefore desperate, he resolved with an hundred or two of his best fighting men to make an escape by the Water, all passages by the Land being sufficiently guarded by the English Forces. The Swamp where they were lodged being not far from an arm of the Sea, coming up to *Taunton*, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either waded over one night in the end of *July*, or else waded themselves over upon small Rafts of Timber very early before break of day, by which means the greatest part of the Company escaped away into the woods, leading into the *Nipmuck* Country, altogether unknown to the English Forces that lay encamped on the other side of the Swamp: About an hundred or more of the Women and Children, which were like to be rather burdensome than serviceable, were left behind, who soon after resigned up themselves to the mercy of the English. *Philip's* escape thus from *Pocasset* could not long be concealed after the day appeared, there being much campaign Land through which he was to pass, so as being discovered to some of *Rehoboth*, the Inhabitants presently followed him, together with a party of the *Mohegins* (that a little before came to *Boston*, offering their service against *Philip*, and were sent up into those parts to be ordered by Capt. *Henchman*, but before they came to him were easily persuaded to go along with any of the English that were engaged in the pursuit of *Philip*). News also thereof was carried to Capt. *Henchman*, who as soon as he could get over with six files of men (rowing hard all or most part of the day to get to *Providence*) followed after the enemy.

The *Mohegins* with the men of *Rehoboth*, and some of *Providence*, came upon their Reer over night, slew about thrty of them, took much plunder from them, without any considerable loss to the English. Captain *Henchman* came not up to them (pursuing them only by the Tract) till the Skirmish was over; and having marched twenty two miles that day, was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the Forces that came from *Rehoboth*, and that belonged to *Plimouth*, having left their Horses three miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of time; and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the morning, returned back the next day, leaving Capt. *Henchman* with his six Files, and the *Mohegins* to pursue the Chase to *Nipsachet*, which he did the next morning. Captain *Henchman*, that he might the better engage the *Mohegins* to march with him thirty miles, gave them half his provision, and was himself recruited again by the care of Capt. *Edmunds* of *Providence*, and Lieutenant *Brown*, who brought provision after him to the *Nipmuck* Forts. Mr. *Newman* the Minister of *Rehoboth* deserved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to pursue thus far after *Philip*, animating of them by his own example and presence: But what the reason was why *Philip* was followed no further, it is better to suspend, than too critically to enquire. This is now the third time when a good opportunity of suppressing the Rebellion of the *Indians*, was put into the hands of the English; but time and chance hapneth to all men, so that the most likely means are often frustrated of their desired end. All humane endeavours shall arrive at no other success, than the Counsel of God hath preordained, that no flesh might glory in their own Wisdom, but give unto God the praise of all their Successes, and quietly bear whatever miscarriages he hath ordered to befall them. It appears by the issue of these things, that although this wound was not incurable, yet much more blood must be taken away before it could be healed. But by this means *Philip* escaped away to the Westward, kindling the flame of War in all the Western Plantations of the *Massachusetts* Colony wherever he came; so that by this fatal accident, the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguished, as soon almost as it began, did on the sudden break out through the whole Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, both Eastward and Westward, endangering also the neighbour Colony of *Connecticut*, which hath also suffered somewhat by the fury of this Flame, though not considerable to what the other Colonies have undergone.

While things after this manner proceeded in and about the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Commissioners of the rest of the Colonies were consulting

sulting and advising what was to be done for preventing the mischief threatned from spreading any further, fearing (as indeed there was too much cause) that although *Philip* only appeared to make the first attempt, yet more either already were, or soon might be perswaded to joyn with him in acting this bloody Tragedy.

It hath been already declared what hath been done for the securing of the *Narhagansets*: those that were sent as Messengers on that errand, always reported that the elder people were in appearance, not only inclinable to peace, but seemed very desirous thereof, inso much as their two eldest Sachems expressed much joy when it was concluded; but as since hath appeared, all this was but to gain time, and cover their treacherous intents and purposes, that they might in the next Spring fall upon the English Plantations all at once, as some prisoners lately brought in hath owned and confessed; nor have any of those *Indians* with whom the present War hath been, ever regarded any agreements of peace made with the English, further than out of necessity and slavish fear they were compelled thereunto, as may be seen by the Records of the united Colonies from the year 1643, to the present time, notwithstanding all their fair pretences; for *Ninigret*, the old Sachem of the *Narhagansets*, who alone of all the rest of that Country-Sachems disowned the present War, and refused to have any hand therein, yet was it proved to his face before the Commissioners, in the year 1646 and 1647, that he had threatned they would carry on the War again the *Mohegins*, whatever were the mind of the Commissioners, and that they would kill the English Cattel, and heap them up as high as their Wigwams, and that an English man should not stir out of his doors to piss, but they would kill him; all which they could not deny; yet did this old Fox make many promises of peace, when the dread of the English ever since the *Pequod-War* moved them thereunto; foreseeing, as he is said to have told his neighbours, that they would all be ruined if they made War with the English, as is since come to pass. However the good hand of God was seen in so ordering things, that the *Narhagansets* were for the present restrained from breaking out into open Hostility against the English, at that time when *Philip* began: which if they had then done, according to the eye of reason, it would have been very difficult, if possible, for the English to have saved any of their inland plantations for being utterly destroyed. Thus hath God in his Wisdom suffered so much of the rage of the Heathen to be let loose against his people here, as to become a scourge unto them, that by the wrath of men, praise might be yielded to his holy Name; yet hath he in his abundant goodness restrained the remainder that it should not consume.

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The next thing in order to be related, is the calamity that befel the Village of *Brookfield*, which notwithstanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious *Nipnet Indians*, as shall here in the next place be declared; only as we pass along to remind the Reader in a few words, what was the issue of Captain *Henchmans* pursuit of *Philip*: the *Plimouth Forces* being returned home, as was said before, Captain *Henchman* with his six Files of men, and the *Mohegin Indians*, having continued in the pursuit of *Philip* till they had spent all their provision, and tired themselves, yet never coming within sight of *Philip*; the *Mohegin Indians* in their company, directed them to *Mendham*, and then leaving them, returned also to their own County. Captain *Henchman* in his march toward *Menham*, or at *Mendham*, met with Captain *Mosely* coming up to bring him Provision, and advertising him of what success he had met withall in the pursuit; they altered their course, for Captain *Henchman* was sent down to the Governour and Council, to know what they should do: they presently remanded him to *Pocasset*, and ordered him to stay there if there were need, or else to draw off, surrendring the the Fort he had been building, to *Plimouth Forces*, which last was chosen by those of *Plimouth*; whereupon Cap. *Henchman* returning to *Boston*, was ordered to disband his men. Capt. *Mosely* was ordered to march to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, where he continued a while, the other Captains sent up for the relief of the People there, and to seek after the Enemy in those Woods, and after some time spent in ranging the Country thereabouts, and not meeting with any of the Infidels, he with his Company came down wards, searching the Woods betwixt *Lancaster* (where a Man and his Wife with two Children were slain on the Lords-day, Aug. 22.) and *Malbrough*, where also a Lad keeping Sheep, was shot at by an *Indian* that wore a sign, as if he had been a Friend: the *Indian* was supposed to belong to the *Hassanemesit Indians*, at that time confined to *Malberough*, where they had liberty to dwell in a kind of Fort: The next day the Inhabitants sent to demand their Guns; Captain *Mosely* acquainted therewith, marched to the Fort, and found much suspicion against eleven of them, for singing and dancing, and having Bullets and Slugs, and much Powder hid in their Baskets; insomuch that eleven of them were sent down Prisoners to *Boston* upon suspicion that they had an hand in killing the four at *Lancaster*, and shooting at the *Malberough* Shepherd: But upon Tryal, the said Prisoners were all of them quitted from the Fact, and were either released, or else were with others of that sort, sent for better security, and for preventing future trouble in the like kind to some of the Islands below *Boston* towards *Nantasket*.

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About this time Capt. *Mosely* was sent with a Company of Soldiers to some *Indian* Plantations up *Merrimack River*, as high as *Penny-cook*, but they found no *Indians* there; those that belonged to the place having withdrawn themselves from their Native place, that they might not meddle in the present quarrel, as is confidently believed, that *Woonahset* the Sachim of that Country had resolved. That Coast being clear of the Enemies, Capt. *Mosely* soon after was sent up with his Men to the Towns Westward about *Hadly*, if it might be, to subdue the Enemy: who a little before, and at that time, was doing all the mischief he could in those Western Plantations, both by Fire and Sword.

But to return and pursue the Rebellious *Indians*, and keep pace with them in our History, though our Forces as yet could never overtake them in the Woods. The Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* were sensible of as much danger from the *Nipnet-Indians*, as from the former: they being the Inland part of the Country betwixt the Seacoast and *Connecticut River* Westward, and the Towns about the *Massachusetts Bay* Eastward; whereupon some persons that used to Trade with the said *Nipnets*, were sent to sound them, and find how they stood affected, for which also there was the more reason, because they were always in subjection to the Sachim of *Mount Hope*, and so were the more like to engage in the present quarrel, of which there had been sufficient proof already: When on the 14th of July, some of the *Nipnet-Indians* next bordering on *Philips* Country, set upon some of *Mendham* (a Town situate Northward from *Mount Hope*, within 36 Miles from *Boston*), where they killed four or five persons, which was the first mischief done upon any of the Inhabitants within the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, acted as was said by one *Matoonas*, who was Father to him that had committed a murder soon after *Philips* first Rebellion, *An.* 1671. The Messenger that was sent thither, brought word back that they found the said *Indians* wavering; the young men very furly and insolent, the elder ones shewing some inclination to maintain the wonted peace: Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. *Wheeler* was sent to assist, Capt. *Hutchinson*, with a party of twenty Horse to treat further about the Peace; who going first to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, a Town situate about sixty or seventy miles from *Boston*, in the Road of *Connecticut*, lying about 25 miles from the said River, and not far distant from the chief seat of the *Nipnet-Indians*; the Inhabitants of the said *Brookfield* had been so deluded by those treacherous Villains, that they fearing no danger, first obtained of those *Nipnets*, the promise of a Treaty upon the second of August, whereupon some of the chief of the Town riding along unarmed with

with the said *Wheeler* and *Hutchinson*, with their party of Horse until they came to the place appointed; and finding no *Indians*, so secure were they, that they ventured along further to find the Infidels at their chief Town, never suspecting the least danger; but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an Ambush of two or three hundred *Indians*, laid in such a narrow passage, betwixt a steep Hill on the one hand, and an hideous Swamp on the other, that it was scarce possible for any of them to escape, eight of them being shot down upon the place (whereof three were of *Brookfield*) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. *Hutchinson* was one, Capt. *Wheeler* was also near losing his life, whose Horse was shot down under him, and himself shot through the body, so that all manner of hopes to escape had been removed from him, had it not been for his Son, who was (by Gods good providence) near or next unto him, being a man of undaunted courage (notwithstanding his own Arm was broken with a Bullet, yet) with great nimbleness and agility of body dismounting himself, speedily mounted his Father upon his own Horse, himself getting upon another, whose Master vvas killed, by vvhich means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover *Brookefield*, which in all probability they had never done (the common Road being vvay-laid vvith *Indians* on every side, as was afterwards known), had it not been for one vvell acquainted vvith those Woods, vvho led them in a by-path, by which means they got thither a little before the *Indians*, who quickly came flocking into the Town, with full intent to destroy it with Fire and Sword. But by special providence the Inhabitants were all gathered to the principal House of the Village (there being scarce twenty in the Town) before the barbarous Miscreants came upon them, immediately setting fire upon all the dwelling Houses, with most of the other Buildings in the Town, save that one into which the Inhabitants were retired, the which they several times attempted to burn, but were almost miraculously defeated of their purpose by the immediate hand of God. *In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen.* For when they had for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people, both night and day pouring in shot upon them incessantly with Guns, and also thrusting poles with Fire-brands, and rags dip'd in brimstone tied to the ends of them to fire the House; at last they used this devillish Stratagem, to fill a Cart with Hemp, Flax, and other combustible matter, and so thrust it backward with poles together spliced a great length, after they had kindled it; But as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling, put out

out the Fire, or else all the poor people, about seventy souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like Wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that distressed Company strangely delivered, who have for ever cause to say with the Psalmist, *Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth: our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped.* For the next night Major Willard, by accident hearing of the danger the People were in, came with Forty eight Dragoons to their relief. The occasion which brought Major Willard and Capt. Parker of Groton with Forty six more so timely to their relief, was this: Major Willard in pursuance of his Commision from the Governour and Council, was upon Wednesday, August the 4th in the Morning, marching out after some Indians to the Westward, to secure them: just as they were setting forth, some of Malberough, who had intelligence by those that were going to Connecticut, and forced to return, what distress Brookfield was in, and knowing of Major Willard's purpose to go out that Morning from Lancaster, sent a Post to acquaint him therewith, which though it did not find him in the Town, yet overtook him before he had gone above four or five miles from the place: whereupon, conceiving it more needful to succour Brookfield in so eminent danger, than to proceed further upon his intended design; he altered his course, and marched directly thither, being about thirty miles distant when the tidings were brought him; so he arrived there that night very seasonably, about an hour after it was dark, or else in probability they had all perished before the relief sent up from Boston could have reached them, which was not till three days after. The providence of God likewise in bringing in the said Major so safely, as well as seasonably to their relief, was very remarkable. For the Indians had subtilly contrived to cut off all relief sent, before it could come at them, by laying Ambushes, and placing their Scouts, at two or three miles distance round the Town: About an Hundred of them were lodged at an house not far off in the way toward Boston, to cut off any Succour that might come from thence: but it is supposed they were so intense upon the Project they were about for firing the House, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or making such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their Sentinels when they shot off their Guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the Indians, let the Major and his Company purposely pass by them, with-

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out any opposition, waiting for the blow to be given at their first approach near the House, then to have themselves fallen upon their Rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the besieged understood any thing thereof. But it pleased God so to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the Besiegers, nor were they at all discerned by them, till they had made themselves known to their Friends, and were admitted within the Court of Guard; which when the Enemy had notice of, they poured in their shot abundantly upon them, but they were now sheltered from the danger thereof: only it seems their Horses were exposed to their fury, so as many of them were maimed and killed, as were most of the Cattel belonging to the Inhabitants of the place soon after. This Honoured Person Major *Willard*, continued at *Brookfield* after this famous exploit for the preservation of the poor besieged at *Brookfield*, divers weeks, to order such Companies as were sent up that way for the securing of the Plantations on that side of the Country; and not long after he went himself also to *Hadly* upon the like service of the Country in the present War. But after some time spent in those parts, he returned back to his own place, to order the affairs of his own Regiment, much needing his presence, and leaving the Forces about *Hadly* under the command of the Major of that Regiment.

But to return to what was in hand before, after the *Indians* understood that succours were come in to the besieged, they fired all that they had left standing for their own shelter while they had besieged the place before mentioned, ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring Woods; however it was confessed by one of themselves, that the enemy had Eighty of their men killed and wounded in this business. But ere we pass any further in pursuit of the History of these matters, it will not be amiss to let the Reader understand the horrible perfidious and treacherous dealing of these *Nipnet Indians*, who of all other had the least reason as to any pretence of injury, yet did most deceitfully and barbarously joyn with *Philip* and his *Indians*, after they had been several times sent unto by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*, by the advice of *Plimouth*, to have prevented their Rising, as well as the rising of the *Narhagansets*, and also had faithfully promised not to meddle in the quarrel, as may more fully appear by the Engagement under the hands of their Sachims; some time before Capt. *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Wheeler* were sent up to them, which by reason of the haste and unskilfulness of the Messengers on that behalf sent, is not so fit for publick view: but the account of it from their return,

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under their hand and oath, July 24. 75, when Lieut. *Ephraim Curtice* spake with Five of the *Nipnet* Sachims, four too many to govern so small a people: but lying upon the head of the principal *Indian* Territories, they were divided into so many small parties, two of whom, viz. *Sam* Sachim of *Weshacum*, and *Netaump*, were executed together afterward at *Boston*. All of them did at that time solemnly renew their Covenant and promise under their hands to come to *Boston* to speak further with the Governor, instead of which, what they perfidiously did against Capt. *Hutchinson* and others, hath already been declared.

Upon the report of this sad Disaster that befel the Inhabitants of *Brookfield*, Forces were sent up under the Command of Capt. *Lothrop* and others, to pursue after those *Indians* harbouring about those places, and if it might be, to prevent them from joyning with the *Indians* upon *Connecticut* River, who as yet had not discovered themselves as willing to espouse *Philips* interest, but rather made some semblance to the contrary. There was much time spent by Major *Willard*, and several Companies of Soldiers left under his command, about the *Nipnet* Country, but all to no purpose; for partly by the treachery of some of the *Indians* that came to their assistance, that seemed to favour the English, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the subtilties of the enemies themselves, who could easily by their Scouts discern the approach of our Soldiers, and by the nimbleness of their feet, escape them: Our Soldiers could never meet with any of them, but only by that means driving them further Westward, they gathered all the *Indians* they could to their party about *Pecomptuck*, alias *Dearfield*, *Swampscot*, and *Squakeag*, where were some Plantations of the English newly began, whom they assaulted in the next place, and did what mischief they could upon them.

It is here to be noted, that although that worthy Patriot, and experienced Soldier Major *Willard* hearing of the distress of *Brookfield* by some that were travelling to *Connecticut*, was the first that relieved the distressed people of *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, yet Major *Pinchon* of *Springfield* also by accident hearing of their Calamity, had not only sent word thereof to *Hartford* (from whom he received a supply of five and twenty or thirty Soldiers under Capt. *Wats*) but did also send a Band of men under Lieut. *Cooper* (who was afterwards villanously slain by *Springfield* *Indians*) who with those sent from *Hartford*, and some *Indians* belonging to *Springfield* (seemingly forward to help the English) made up fourscore or thereabouts; these marched down to *Brookfield* the same day that Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers* came up from the

Massachusetts, who having spent some time in searching the Woods about *Springfield*, and finding none of the *Indians*, did the next day march up to a place called *Meminimisset* by the *Indians*, where Capt. *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Wheeler* were assaulted, and finding no sign of any *Indians* amongst those Woods and Swamps, the Company that came from *Springfield*, left the other Soldiers (who returned to their Quarters at *Brookfield*) and went up themselves further northward, at least twenty miles from the said *Brookfield*, and finding no track of *Indians* in all those Woods, they returned back to *Springfield*, leaving enough to defend the people of *Brookfield*, and the Garrison there.

By this it appears, that the *Indians* by this occasion were driven more westward into the Woods between *Hadly* and *Squakeag*, where they soon effected their design, viz. to leaven the *Indians* on that side the Country with the same prejudice and malice against the English, with which they themselves were (though without cause) imbittered; for in a few days, the device took place amongst *Hadly* and *Dearfield Indians*, and was presently put in execution by the said *Indians*, withdrawing from the English, and assisting *Philip* and the *Nipners*, to spoil and destroy all the Towns westward, as soon after came to pass: yet at the first, some of the *Hadly Indians* pretended real friendship to the English, and offered themselves to fight against *Philip*; but the *Mohegin Indians* that came afterward from *Hartford*, began to suspect the Treachery of the other, and told the English plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that Company went along with them in pursuit of the Enemy; for as was said, they would always give shout when they came near the Enemy, as if they should thereby wish them to look to themselves; insomuch that the said *Hadly Indians* fell into great suspicion with the English, and for a proof of their Fidelity, they were required to bring in their Arms to the English, but upon that motion they delayed a little, but that very night they fled away from their dwellings, which was in a Wooden Fortification, within a mile of *Hartfield*, whereby they plainly discovered that they had secretly plotted to joyn with *Philip's* Party, as far as they had an opportunity to do them any eminent service: some think the English failed in point of prudence, not managing that business so warily as they might, which if they had done, their defection had been prevented; but it is most probable that *Philip* had hired them to own his quarrel, by sending them gifts in the Spring; and that the body of the said *Indians* were most readily inclined thereunto: But the Sachims and the elder ones of them, seemed loth at first to engage against the English. In conclusion, when they had so

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falsly left their Dwellings, and were running after *Philip* and the *Nipnet Indians* (at that time harboured in those Woods) the English were so provoked, that were under Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers*, that they pursued after them very early the next morning, and overtook them about ten miles above *Hatfield*, at a place called *Sugar loaf Hill*, and had a small skirmish with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the English slain, and about twenty six *Indians*: yet the rest escaped, and so joyned with *Philip* and his Company; presently after which accident, they were so emboldned, that upon the first of *September*, about seven days after, they set upon *Dearfield*, killed one Man, and laid most of the Houses in ashes. About two or three days after they fell upon *Squakeag*, another new Plantation, fifteen miles higher up the River, above *Dearfield*, where they killed nine or ten of the People, the rest hardly escaped into the *Garifon* house.

The next day, this disaster not being known, Captain *Beers*, for fear of the worst, with Thirty six men, was sent up to the said *Squakeag*, with supplies both of men and provision to secure the small *Garifon* there; but before they came very near to the Town, they were set upon by many hundreds of the *Indians* out of the Bushes by a Swamp-side, of whom Capt. *Beers* (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about Twenty of his men, were by this sudden surprisal there slain, the rest flying back to *Hadly*. Here the Barbarous Villains shewed their insolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of some of the slain, and fixing them upon Poles near the Highway; and not only so, but one (if not more) was found with a Chain hooked into his under jaw, and so hung up on the Bow of a Tree, ('tis feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their relief, and also to terrifie those that should be Spectators with the beholding so sad an object: insomuch that Major *Treat* with his Company, going up two days after, to fetch off the residue of the *Garifon*, were solemnly affected with that doleful sight, which made them make the more haste to bring down the *Garifon*, not waiting for any opportunity to take revenge upon the Enemy, having but an Hundred with him, too few for such a purpose. Captain *Appleton* going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have perswaded them, to have turned back, to see if they could have made any spoil upon the Enemy; but the greatest part advised to the contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the rest for a booty to the Enemy, who shall ere long pay a sad reckoning for their Robberies and Cruelties, in the
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time appointed: but the sufferings of the English were not as yet come to their height: for after they were come to *Hadly*, the Commander in chief taking Counsel with the Officers of the Soldiers, ordered them that were then present to Garrison the Towns about; some to be at *Northampton*, *Hatfield*, *Dearfield*, and some to remain at *Hadley* where were the Head-quarters of the English. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the Enemy in those parts, it was agreed that what Corn was left at *Dearfield*, being threshed out as well as they could in those tumults (about Three thousand Bushels was supposed to be there standing in stacks) should be brought to *Hadly*, and wait further time to fight the Enemy. It came to C. *Lothrop's* turn, or rather it was his choice with about Eighty men to guard several Carts laden with Corn, & other Goods; the Company under Capt. *Mosely* then quartering at *Dearfield* intended that day to pursue after the Enemy. But upon *September 18*, that most fatal day, the saddest that ever befel *New-England*, as the Company were marching along with the Carts (it may be too securely) never apprehending danger so near, were suddenly set upon, and almost all cut off (not above seven or eight escaping); which great defeat came to pass by the unadvised proceeding of the Captain (who was himself slain in the first assault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill, to lead his Souldiers; but having taken up a wrong notion about the best way and manner of fighting with the *Indians* (which he was always wont to argue for) viz. that it were best to deal with the *Indians* in their own way, sc. by skulking behind Trees, and taking their aim at single persons, which is the usual manner of the *Indians* fighting one with another: but herein was his great mistake, in not considering the great disadvantage a smaller Company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude; for if five have to deal with one, they may surround him, and every one to take his aim at him, while he can level but at one of his Enemies at a time: which gross mistake of his, was the ruine of a choice Company of young men, the very flower of the County of *Essex*, all culled out of the Towns belonging to that County, none of which were ashamed to speak with the Enemy in the gate: their dear Relations at home mourning for them, like *Rachel* for her children, and would not be comforted, not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost. (The like mistake was conceived to be the reason of the loss of the former persons, slain with the said *Lothrop*, pursuing the *Indians* that ran away from *Hadley*, and of the Twenty slain with Capt. *Beers* men, who betook themselves at first to their Trees, and at the last a few got to their Horses soon after their Captain was shot

shot down). For had he ordered his men to march in a Body, as some of his fellow-Commanders advised, either backward, or forward; in reason they had not lost a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the Sword. For the *Indians*, notwithstanding their subtilty and cruelty, durst not look an *Englishman* in the face in the open field, nor ever yet were known to kill any man with their Guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in an ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered; so that although it was judged by those that escaped, that there was seven or eight hundred *Indians* at least that encountred that Company of eighty of English; yet if they had kept together in a Body, and fought Marching, they might have escaped the numbers of the Enemy, with little loss in comparison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Captain *Mosely*, and his Lieutenant, coming (though too late) to their rescue, marched through and through that great body of *Indians*, and yet came off with little or no loss in comparison of the other. And having fought all those *Indians* for five or six hours upon a march, lost not above two men all that while, nor received other damage besides eight or nine that were wounded, which yet were carried to their Quarters at night at *Hatfield*; whereas if these had proceeded in the same way of fighting as Capt. *Lothrop* did in the morning, they might have been surrounded, and so have been served as the former were: but God had otherwise determined in his secret Counsel, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a means to preserve the other Company.

Other relief also was seasonably sent in, viz. a Company of English, and *Mohegin* or *Pequod-Indians* under the Command of Major *Treat*, who was in the morning marching another way, viz. up toward *Squakeag* to seek after the Enemy that way, with about an hundred Soldiers, *Indians* and English; upon whose approach the Enemy, pretty well acquainted by this last Encounter with the valour of the English, immediately went clear away, giving Major *Treat* and Captain *Mosely*, who returned to *Dearfield* that night, an opportunity to bury the slain the next day. As Captain *Mosely* came upon the *Indians* in the morning, he found them stripping of the slain, amongst whom was one *Robert Dutch* of *Ipswich*, having been sorely wounded by a Bullet that rased to his skull, and then mauled by the *Indian* Hatchets, left for dead by the Salvages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet when Capt. *Mosely* came near, he almost miraculously as one raised from the dead, came towards the English, to their no small amazement, by whom being received and clothed, he was carried off to the next Garison, and is living

living and in perfect health at this day. May he be to the Friends and Relations of the rest of the slain, an emblem of their more perfect Resurrection at the last day, to receive their Crowns among the rest of the Martyrs that have laid down, or ventured their lives as a testimony to the truth of their Religion, as well as love to their Country.

This sore defeat of Capt. *Lothrop* and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other of the like nature) it so emboldned the Enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable Towns, though well garisoned with Soldiers, and gave them occasion of most insolent Braving the Garison at *Dearfield* the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the Soldiers, yet on the other side of the River. However it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the Garison-house at *Dearfield* (wherein were not left above twenty seven Soldiers) their Captain using this stratagem, to cause his Trumpet to sound as if he had another Troop near by to be called together; they turned another way, and made no attempt upon the House where that small number was; which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small an handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the Enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. *Lothrop* and his men (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard law of the Sword to forgo their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could) is not certainly known. It hath since been confessed by some of the *Indians* themselves, that they lost ninety six of their men that day. Capt. *Mosely's* men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for seven miles together they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. *Perez Savage* and Lieutenant *Pickering*, his Lieutenants, deserving no little part of the honour of that days Service, being sometimes called to lead the Company in the Front, while Capt. *Mosely* took a little breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the midst of the Enemy.

The *Indians* gathered together in those parts, appearing so numerous: and, as might justly be supposed, growing more confident by some of their last successes, and the number of our men being after this sad rate diminished; Recruits also not being suddenly to be expected

pected, at so great a distance as an hundred miles from all supplies, the Commander in chief with the Officers, saw a necessity of slighting that Garrison at *Dearfield*, imploying the forces they had to secure and strengthen the three next Towns below upon *Connecticut-River*. And it was well that counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched Caitiffs begin to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the Towns thereabout, as they had already begun: Their hopes no doubt, were not a little heightened by the accession of *Springfield-Indians* to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood the firmest to the interest of the English, of all the rest in those parts: But they all hanging together, like Serpents eggs, were easily persuaded to join with those of *Hadly* (there being so near alliance between them; for the Sachim of *Springfield-Indians*, was the Father of *Hadly* Sachim) not only by the success of their treacherous and blood-thirsty companions, but by the same inbred malice and antipathy against the English manners and Religion.

The Inhabitants of *Springfield* were not unsensible of their danger, and therefore had, upon the first breaking forth of these troubles, been treating with their *Indians*, and had received from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship, that could be imagined or desired, both by Covenant, Promises and Hostages given for security; so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: Yet did these faithless and ungrateful Monsters plot with *Philips Indians* to burn and destroy all *Springfield*, as they had done *Brookfield* before: to that end they sent cunningly, and inticed away the Hostages from *Hartford*, where they were perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: then receiving above three hundred of *Philips Indians* into their Fort, privately in the night-time, so as they were neither discerned nor suspected: yea, so confident were such of the Inhabitants as were most conversant with the *Indians* at their Fort, that they would not believe there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one *Toto* an *Indian* at *Windsor*, better affected to the English, (about eighteen or twenty miles below *Springfield*, upon the same River) and so by Post, tidings thereof brought to *Springfield* the night before; insomuch that the Lieutenant of the Town, *Cooper* by name, was so far from believing the Stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to ride up to the Fort, to see whether things were so or no. The Fort was about a mile from the Town; when he came within a little thereof, he met with these bloody and deceitful Monsters, newly issued out of their *Equus Trojanus*, to act their intended mischief;

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they presently fired upon him divers of them, and shot him in several places through the body; yet being a man of a stout courage, he kept his Horse, till he recovered the next Garison-houfe, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the Town of their intended mischief, vvhich vvas instantly fired in all places where there were no Garisons. The poor people having never an Officer to lead them, being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole Town had been totally destroyed, but that a report of the Plot being carried about over night, Major *Treat* came from *Westfield* time enough in a manner for the rescue; but vwanting Boats to transport his men, could not do so much good as he desired. Major *Pyncheon* coming from *Hadly* with Capt. *Appleton*, and what Forces they could bring along with them, thirty two houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the Town from being turned into ashes, in which the over-credulous Inhabitants might now see (vvhat before they vvould not believe at the burning Major *Pinchons* Barns and Stables a few days before, to a very great damage of the Owner) the faithless and deceitful friendship amongst those perfidious, cruel and hellish Monsters.

Amongst the ruines of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the Houfe of Mr. *Pelataiah Glover*, Minister of the Town, furnished with a brave Library, which he had but newly brought back from a Garison wherein it had been for some time before secured; but as if the danger had been over with them, the said Minister, a great Student, and an *belluo librorum*, being impatient for want of his Books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for a Bonfire for the proud insulting Enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said Enemy before that day, the burning of this Town of *Springfield* did more than any nother, discover the said Actors to be the children of the Devil, full of all subtilty and malice, there having been for about forty years so good correspondence betwixt the English of that Town and the neighbouring *Indians*; But in them is made good what is said in the *Psalm*, That *though their words were smoother than oyl, yet were they drawn swords*.

After some little time spent in garisoning the place, and helping the Inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English Soldiers most of them returned back to *Hadly* their head-quarters; and Major *Pinchon* being so full of incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to himself, and his neighbours at *Springfield*, could not any longer attend the Service of commanding in Chief as he had done before; wherefore being according to his earnest request to the Council eased of that burden, Captain *Samuel Appleton* was ordered to succeed in taking the charge of

of the Soldiers left in those upper Towns, by whose industry, skill and courage, those Towns were preserved from running the same fate with the rest, wholly or in part so lately turned into ashes. For the Enemy growing very confident by the late successes, came with all their fury the nineteenth of *October* following upon *Hatfield*, hoping no less than to do the like mischief to them they had newly done to *Springfield*; But according to the good providence of Almighty God, Major *Troat* was newly returned to *Northampton*. Capt. *Mosely* and Capt. *Pool* were then garisoning the said *Hatfield*, and Capt. *Appleton* for the like end quartering at *Hadly*, when on the sudden seven or eight hundred of the Enemy came upon the Town in all quarters, having first killed or taken two or three of the Scouts belonging to the Town, and seven more belonging to Capt. *Mosely* his Company: But they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the Town, that they found it too hot for them. Major *Appleton* with great courage defending one end of the Town, and Capt. *Mosely* as stoutly maintaining the middle, and Capt. *Pool* the other end; that they were by the resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Capt. *Appletons* Serjeant was mortally wounded just by his side, another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near, but did him no other harm. Night coming on, it could not be discerned what loss the Enemy sustained, divers were seen to fall, some run through a small River, others cast their Guns into the Water (it being their manner to venture as much to recover the dead bodies of their Friends, as to defend them when alive). At last, after the burning of some few Barns, with some other Buildings, the Enemy hasted away as fast as they came on, leaving the English to bless God who had so mercifully delivered them from the fury of their merciless Foes, who had in conceit without doubt devoured all: But this resolute and valiant repulse, put such a check upon the pride of the Enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of those Towns for the present; but Winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general Rendezvous at *Narhaganset*; where we shall leave them for the present, plotting their general design of accomplishing their intended mischief against the English the next Spring.

Our Western Plantations upon *Connecticut River* were the stage whereon were acted the most remarkable passages of this barbarous War hitherto, which was soon after removed into many other places of the Country in the Winter and Spring following, whither our discourse must in the next place pursue it: There was not any

great matter acted by the Enemy amongst the Plantations upon the great River during the Winter, after the assault made upon *Hatfield*, *October 19*. It is evident, that the body of them returned to *Narhaganset* upon the approach of the Winter, which set in more early than it used in other years: where *Philip* did bestow himself in the Winter-season is not so certain; some say that he repaired further Westward, to try his fortune with those *Indians* that lie towards *Albany*, near the *Dutch River*: others more probably conceive that he lay hid in some part of the *Narhaganset-Country*: for though he was not certainly known to be about the Fort at *Narhaganset*, when it was taken by our Force in the Winter, yet as soon as ever they were driven out of the Country in *February*, he was found amongst them that did the mischief at *Lancaster* in that month.

Some stragling parties of them remained about *Northampton*, *Westfield* and *Springfield*, some time after their defeat at *Hatfield*: seven or eight of the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the end of *October*, venturing to fetch in some of their Harvest that was left somewhere out of the Town, were in danger of being surprized, having laid their Arms under their Cart, so as being destitute of means to make their defence, they were glad to flee away with the Horses out of their Cart, leaving what they were about, to the pleasure of the *Indians* that assaulted. Major *Treat* upon the hearing the Alarm, presently repaired thither, but could not come time enough to destroy any of the Enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five Houses, with two or three Barns that stood somewhat out of the Town. Within a little time after they kill'd three of the same Town, as they were at work in a Meadow not far from the Town: they intended also to have burned the Mill, but it was too well guarded by two files of Musquetiers lodged there for the purpose, who put them beside their intent. Six or seven of *Springfield* soon after going to the Mill at *Westfield* that which belonged to their own Town being burned *October 5th*), and venturing without Arms, three of them were killed by some of the Enemy, who took the advantage also to burn four or five Houses that belonged to the said *Westfield*: but by the end of *November* the coast was pretty clear of them, unless some few of them that lay lurking in the Swamps thereabouts all the Winter, doing some small mischief upon some out-dwellings of *Springfield*.

The expedition into the *Narhaganset-Country*, follows in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice must be taken by the way, of an unsuccessful attempt upon the *Indians* about

about *Hassanemesit*, and *Poppachuog*, whither Capt. *Henchman* was sent in the beginning of *November*: where also Captain *Sill* was ordered to meet him with another Company from *Cambridge*, with intent to have beat up the *Indians* quarters in those parts: they being known to have had an hand in the outrages committed upon those that belonged to *Malborough* and *Mendham*; cutting off the scalp of a Millers Boy, who is yet alive.

November 1. 1675, Capt. *Henchman* marched out of *Boston*, intending to visit the *Indians* about *Hassenemesit*: the third day they saw some fires of the *Indians*, yet could not meet with them that made them: The 4th day they marched to some part of the *Indian* Plantations, called *Hassenemesit*: the Captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this side, but some of his Officers over-ruled him, to whose importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further towards the Enemy, and by that means saved the Millers youth, taken the week before from *Malborough*; for in the morning very early, as the Scouts were looking out, they spied a Wigwam, where some *Indians* that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night in some Wigwam near by; when the *Indians* saw our Soldiers, they hastened away, and left the *Malborough* youth behind them, who by that means escaped their hands. Our men under Capt. *Henchman* marched on to *Poppachuog*, and finding the *Indians* all fled (although they perceived by a Messenger accidentally sent back, that the *Indians* followed them all that way they marched) they came back to *Mendham* to settle things in that Town: some of the Inhabitants informed them of some *Indian* Wigwams about ten miles off: The Captain, with *Philip Cartice* his Lieutenant, resolved to give them a Camisado in their Wigwams that night: to that end, they mounted two and twenty upon Horses, riding up ten miles into the Woods, and when they came near the Wigwams, they dismounted, and intended presently to march up and give an assault upon them, after they had first made a shout to fright the Enemy: they ordered one half to follow the Lieutenant, the other to follow the Captain; when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their Dogs began to bark, at which they stop'd, and by and by marched again, intending presently to fire in upon them; but the Captains foot slipping, he could hardly recover himself; when suddenly looking behind him, he saw no man following of him: the Lieutenant had five behind him, who with those five resolutely fired on that side he was appointed to make the assault upon; but they were repulsed by the *Indians*, who firing out of their dens, shot down the Lieutenant and another, the rest presently ran away to a Fence: the Captain with all
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vehemency urged them to stay; they replied, they went back but only to charge, yet went clear away, by which means, together with the cowardize of the former, so sad a loss befell the Company, which could not easily be repaired: however the Enemy presently deserted the Wigwam, and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and so with grief and shame were constrained to return to their quarters at *Mendham*, to whose Inhabitants they gave notice of 200 bushels of Corn belonging to the *Indians*, that might have been preserved, which for want of hands was lost by the fire, that the Enemy might not be benefited thereby. It appears by the foregoing passage, that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further trials to acquaint us with, before he would turn his hand upon our Enemies. But it pleased the Lord in mercy so to order things, that they themselves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as shall appear more fully in what follows.

The English Plantations about *Hadly* being for the present set a little at liberty by the *Indians* drawing off, like Seamen after a Storm, counted it their best course to repair their tackling against another that may be next coming; wherefore the Inhabitants concluded it the safer way to make a kind of Barricado about their Towns, by setting up Pallisadoes or cleft-wood about eight foot long, as it were to break the force of any sudden assault which the *Indians* might make upon them, which counsel proved very successful; for although it be an inconsiderable defence against a Warlike Enemy, that hath strength enough, and confidence to besiege a place, yet it is sufficient to prevent any sudden assault of such a timorous and barbarous Enemy as these were; for although they did afterwards in the Spring break through those Pallisadoes at *Northampton*, yet as soon as ever they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like Wolves in a Pound, that they could not fly away at their pleasure, so as they never adventured to break through afterward upon any of the Towns so secured.

As for those of *Springfield*, they were now and then Alarmed with a few skulking *Indians* lurking about in the adjacent Woods; as once at the long Meadow, where half a score of them were seen about an House remote from the Town, who were pursued by a party of the English toward *Windfor*, and so escaped; after the English had made one shot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of those barbarous wretches kill'd a poor man belonging to *Springfield*, as he was going to his House to look after his Corn on the other side of the River; and after they had killed the man, they burnt down

down his house; yet attempted no further mischief upon that part of the Town that had escaped the fury of the Flames, *October 5*. By which it is evident, that all the number of *Indians* that had assaulted them before, had now drawn themselves to their winter quarters, some to the *Dutch River*, but the greatest number of them to be sure were found in the winter at the *Narhaganset Fort*, where we shall leave them for the present, till the Forces of the United Colonies shall fire them out of their nests.

The Soldiers continuing some time at *Hatfield* after this Victory, as we may well call it (for it seems to have given the first check to the rage of the Heathen within the Jurisdiction of the united Colonies, they have been observed ever since to have been on the losing hand, seldom or never daring to meet our Soldiers in the open Field, unless when they have very great advantage as to their numbers, or covert of the woods and bushes: although like some raging Beasts they have done much mischief several times since, when they were ready to expire, or when the pangs of death were coming upon them) our Forces were all called home, save some left for garrisoning the Towns thereabouts.

The Commissioners of the united Colonies taking into serious Consideration the present state of things, *viz.* that there were before this time so many hundreds gathered together into one Body, and that there was great reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next spring they might all rise together as one man round about us, and that one Town after another might easily be destroyed, before any help could be dispatched to them. On the one hand the sharpness of the winter in these parts was well weighed, so extream that it might hazard the loss of a Thousand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open Field; as also the difficulty, if not impossibility, of sending any relief to them at any distance, the depth of Snow usually making the ways unpassable for divers months together.

On the other hand it was considered, that if the Enemy were let alone till the next Summer, it would be impossible to deal with them, or find them any where, but they might waste one Company of Soldiers after another, as was seen by the experience of the former year. Considering also that the *Narhagansets*, the most numerous of all the rest, and the best provided of provision of all the other *Indians*, had now declared themselves our enemies, who if they were let alone till the winter was over, we should be unable to deal with so many enemies at once; that could on a sudden, on any occasion, spread themselves like Grasshoppers all over the Country.

It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the winter-quarters of our enemies, by a more considerable Army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three Colonies, and that with all expedition, at farthest not to exceed the tenth of *December* before they should have a Thousand men in Arms ready for the design.

As for the late League made or rather renewed with the *Narhagansees*, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had all along from the first day when it was confirmed, broken every Article of it, specially in not delivering up the enemies which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses, to defer it one week after another, till at the last they would be excused till the next Spring, upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. And besides the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole Body of the enemy with victuals upon all occasions; It was likewise strongly suspected, that in all the late proceedings of the enemy, many of their young men were known to be actually in Arms against us, many of whom were found either wounded amongst them in their Wigwams, or else were occasionally seen returning back, after exploits abroad, to be healed of their wounds at home. Also some of our mens Guns that were lost at *Dearfield* were found in the Fort when it was fired. Therefore all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war being removed, the only question was, Whether it were feasible and expedient in the winter? The exigent was very great, and the choce very hard: But as *David* when he was streightned with many difficulties at once, chose rather to fall into the hands of God whose mercies were great, though he might be provoked to cause his jealousy to smook against those of his own heritage for a time; so in this exigent it was generally conceived to be most expedient for the Country, to cast themselves upon the providence of a merciful and gracious God, rather than by delays to expose themselves to the treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy.

A War therefore speedily to be carried on in the very depth of winter, being agreed upon, care was taken for supplies, as the difficulty of such an affair so circumstanced did require, though possibly not with so much necessary care, and so suitable provision, as had been desired, if what came afterward to pass could have been foreseen (which peradventure might be the reason things went on so heavily for want of well oyling the wheels) in the mean time a small Army of a Thousand fighting men, well appointed, were ordered by the Commissioners to be

be gathered by proportion out of all the Colonies, of which number the share of the *Massachusetts* was to be five hundred and twenty seven, the rest were to be supplied out of *Plimouth* and *Connecticut* Colonies. All other supplies were taken care for, as well as the suddenness of the Expedition, and difficulty of the season would allow. The said thousand men, beside some Voluntiers of Indian-Friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be had, called together, and a Commission granted to the honourable *Josiah Winslow* Esq; the present Governour of *Plimouth-Colony*, a man of known ability and integrity, every way so well qualified with courage and Resolution, as well as prudence and discretion, as might have preferred him to the conduct of a far greater Army than ever is like to be gathered together in this part of the world, in this or in following Generations. And indeed, as he was the first Governour over any of the united Colonies in *New-England* of them that were born in the place, so may he well pass for a pattern of any of the succeeding Race that may come after.

Under him as Commander in Chief, were ordered six Companies from the *Massachusetts*, under the Command of Major *Appleton*, Cap. *Mosely*, Capt. *Gardener*, Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Oliver*, Capt. *Johnson*; Five Companies from *Connecticut* under Major *Treat*, Capt. *Siely*, Capt. *Gallop*, Capt. *Mason*, Capt. *Wats*, and Capt. *Marshall*; Two Companies from *Plimouth*, under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*.

Under the Governour of *Plimouth* as Commander in Chief in this Expedition, were sent as Majors of the Forces belonging to each Colony, Major *Robert Treat* for the Forces belonging to *Connecticut*, and Major *Bradford* for those of the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Major *Samuel Appleton* for those of the *Massachusetts*, to whom by the honourable Major General of the said Colony were six Companies of Foot delivered at *Dedham*, December the 9th. 1675, containing in number 465 fighting men, besides a Troop of Horse under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Prentice* attending upon them. That night they marched to *Woodcocks*, about 27 miles from *Dedham*, The next night they arrived at *Seaconck*; Capt. *Mosely* and his Company went from thence with Mr. *Smith* by water, the rest ferried over the water to *Providence*.

The next day, Decemb. the 12th they passed over *Patuxet-River*, and then marching through *Pomhams Country*, at night they met with Capt. *Mosely* and his Company at Mr. *Smiths* in *Wickford*, the place intended for their Head-quarters. Capt. *Mosely* in his way thither had happily surpris'd thirty six *Indians*, one of whom he took along with him as a Guide, *Peter* by name, that was at that time under some disgust with his

Country-men, or his Sachim, which made him prove the more real friend to our Forces in that Service, wherein he faithfully performed vvhhat he promised, and without his assistance our men would have been much at a loss to have found the Enemy, until it had been too late to have fought them.

Two dayes after, *Decemb. 14th*, Five Files of men sent out under Serjeant *Bennet* and another, upon the Scout, kill'd one man and one vvo-man, and brought in four more by one of the clock: the whole Company marched after into some of the Sachims Country, where they burnt an hundred and fifty Wigwams, killed seven of the Enemy, and brought in eight Prisoners when they returned at night.

The next day, an *Indian* called *Stone-wall-John*, pretending to come from the Sachims, intimating their willingness to have peace with the English, yet could the Messenger hardly forbear threatning, vapouring of their numbers and strength; adding withal, that the English durst not fight them: whatever were pretended by this treacherous fellow, some of his Crew as he went home, met with some of Capt. *Gardners* men, that were stragling about their own business contrary to order, and slew his Serjeant, with one or two more. Two also of Capt. *Oliver's* men were killed in like manner; a solemn warning for Soldiers not to be too venturous in an Enemies Country. For preventing the like mischief upon other Companies, more care was taken as they passed to the Head-quarters, some of the Companies being lodged three miles there-from. Capt. *Mosely's*, Capt. *Davenports*, and Capt. *Olivers* Company, being also sent about that time to bring Major *Appletons* Company to the general Quarters: a few desperate *Indians* creeping under a stone-wall near the place, fired twenty or thirty Guns at *Mosely* in particular, a Commander well known amongst them; but the rest of the Company running down upon them, killed one of them, and scattered the rest.

The next day, Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop, being sent to *Petequamscot*, returned with the sad news of burning *Ferry Bulls* Garison-house, and killing ten English men and five women and children, but two escaping in all. This is the chance of War, which they who undertake, must prepare to undergo.

The next day brought from the same place a little better news, though not enough to balance the sorrow of the former, viz. That *Connecticut* Forces were come thither with three hundred English, and an hundred and fifty *Mobegins*, ready fixed to War on the behalf of the English against the *Narhagansets* their mortal Enemies; and by the way meeting a Party of the Enemy, they slew five or six of them, and took as many

Priso-

Prisoners. The whole number of all our Forces being now come, the want of provision with the sharpness of the cold, minded them of Expedition; wherefore the very next day, the whole Body of the *Massachusetts* and *Plimouth* Forces marched away to *Pettiquamscot*, intending to engage the Enemy upon the first opportunity that next offered it self: To the which resolution those of *Connecticut* presently consented, as soon as they met together, which was about five a clock in the afternoon: *Bulls House* intended for their general Rendezvous, being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no shelter left either for Officer or private Soldier, so as they were necessitated to march on toward the Enemy through the snow, in a cold stormy Evening, finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor other covering than a cold and moist fleece of snow. Through all these difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, *December 19*, till one of the clock in the afternoon, without either fire to warm them, or respite to take any food, save what they could chew in their march. Thus having vvaded fourteen or fifteen mile through the Country of the old Queen, or *Sunke Squaw* of *Narhaganset*; they came at one a clock upon the edg of the Swamp, where their guide assured them they should find *Indians* enough before night.

Our Forces chopping thus upon the seat of the Enemy, upon the sudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of Battel, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault. As they marched, Capt. *Mosely* and Capt. *Davenport* led the Van; Major *Appleton* and Capt. *Oliver* brought up the Reer of the *Massachusetts* Forces; General *Winslow* with the *Plimouth* Forces marched in the Centre; those of *Connecticut* came up in the Reer of the whole Body: But the Frontiers discerning *Indians* in the edg of the Swamp, fired immediately upon them, who answering our men in the same Language, retired presently into the Swamp, our men followed them in again without staying for the word of Command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any stand till they came to the sides of the Fort, into which the *Indians* that first fired upon them betook themselves.

It seems that there was but one entrance into the Fort, though the Enemy found many ways to come out; but neither the English nor their Guide well knew on which side the entrance lay, nor was it easie to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led *Israel* sometime by the Pillar of fire, and the cloud of his Presence a right way through the Wilderness: so did he now direct our Forces upon that side of the Fort, where

they might only enter, though not without utmost danger and hazard. The Fort was raised upon a kind of Island of five or six Acres of rising Land in the midst of a Swamp; the sides of it were made of Pallisadoes set upright, the which was compassed about with an hedg of almost a rod thickness, through which there was no passing, unless they could have fired away through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the *Indians* used ordinarily to enter themselves, was over a long tree upon a place of vvater, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so way-laid, that they would have been cut off that had ventured there: But at one corner there was a Gap made up only with a long tree, about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might easily pass: But they had placed a kind of a block-House right over against the said Tree, from whence they sorely galled our men: that first entred; some being shot dead upon the Tree, as Capt. *Johnson*, and some as soon as they entred, as was Capt. *Davenport*, so as they that first entred were forced presently to retire, and fall upon their bellies till the fury of the Enemies shot was pretty well spent, which some Companies that did not discern the danger, not observing, lost sundry of their men; but at the last, two Companies being brought up besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another to make another assault, one of the Commanders crying out, *They run, they run*; which did so encourage the Soldiers, that they presently entred again. After a considerable number were well entred, they presently beat the Enemy out of a Flanker on the left hand, which did a little shelter our men from the Enemies shot till more company came up, and so by degrees made up higher, first into the middle, and then into the upper end of the Fort, till at the last they made the Enemy all retire from their Sconces and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead Bodies upon the place. *Connecticut* Soldiers marching up in the Rear, being not aware of the dangerous passage over the Tree, in Command of the Enemies Block-house, were at their first entrance many of them shot down, although they came on with as gallant resolution as any of the rest under the conduct of their wise and valiant Leader, Major *Treat*.

The brunt of the Battel, or danger that day lay most upon the Commanders, whose part it was to lead on their several Companies in the very face of Death, or else all had been lost; so as all of them vvith great valour and resolution of mind, as not at all afraid to die in so good a cause, bravely led on their men in that desperate assault, leaving their lives in the place as the best testimony of their Valour, and of love to the cause of God and their Country: No less than six brave Captains fell

that

that day in the assault, viz. Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Gardner*, Capt. *Johnson* of the *Massachusetts*, besides Lieutenant *Upham*, who died some months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. *Gallop* also, and Capt. *Siely*, and Capt. *Marshal* were slain of those that belonged to *Connecticut* Colony. It is usually seen that the valour of the Soldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their Commanders; yet was it found here, that the Soldiers were rather enraged than discouraged by the loss of their Commanders, which made them redouble their Courage, and not give back after they were entered the second time, till they had driven out their Enemies: So as after much blood and many wounds dealt on both sides, the English seeing their advantage, began to fire the Wigwams, where was supposed to be many of the Enemies Women and Children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of those smoaky Cells.

It is reported by them that first entered the *Indians Fort*, that our Soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their Dinner; but our sudden and unexpected assault put them besides that work, making their Cookrooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their Mitchin fried together: and probably some of them eat their Suppers in a colder place that night: most of their Provision as well as their Hutts being then consumed with fire; and those that were left alive, forced to hide themselves in a Cedar Swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but Boughs of Spruce and Pine Trees: for after two or three hours fight, the English became Masters of the place; but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the Day-light was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some say more, whither with their Dead and Wounded men they were to march, a difficulty scarce to be believed, as not to be paralleled almost in any former age.

It is hard to say who acquitted themselves best in that days service, either the Soldiers for their manlike valour in fighting, or the Commanders for their wisdom and courage leading on in very face of death; There might one have seen the whole Body of that little Regimental Army, as busie as Bees in a Hive, some bravely fighting with the Enemy, others haling off, and carrying away the Dead and Wounded Men; which I rather note, that none may want the due testimony of their valour and faithfulness, though all ought to say, *Not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord, &c.*

For though there might not be above three or four hundred at any time

time within the Fort at once, yet the rest in their turns came up to do what the exigence of the service required in bringing off the Dead and Wounded men: The Major of the *Massachusetts* Regiment, together with Capt. *Mosely*, was very serviceable; for by that means the Fort being clear of the dead bodies, it struck a greater terrour into the Enemy, to see but eight or ten dead bodies of the English left, than to meet with so many hundreds of their own slain and wounded Carcasses. The number of the slain was not then known on the Enemies side, because our Men were forced to leave them on the ground: but our Victory was found afterwards to be much more considerable than at the first was apprehended; for although our loss was very great, not only because of the desperateness of the attempt it self (in such a season of the year, and at such a distance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men perished, which might otherwise have been preserved, if they had not been forced to march so many miles in a cold snowy night, before they could be dressed) yet the Enemy lost so many of their principal fighting men, their Provision also was by the burning of their Wigwams, so much of it spoiled at the taking of their Fort, and by surprizing so much of their Corn about that time also, that it was the occasion of their total ruine afterwards: they being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from Planting for that next year, as well as deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the Enemy were slain is uncertain; it was confessed by one *Potoek* a great Councillor amongst them, afterwards taken at *Road-Island*, and put to death at *Boston*, that the *Indians* lost Seven hundred fighting men that day, besides Three hundred that died of their Wounds the most of them: the number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above Eighty of the English slain, and a Hundred and fifty wounded, that recovered afterwards.

There were several circumstances in this Victory very remarkable.

First, The meeting with one *Peter* a fugitive *Indian*, that upon some discontent, flying from the *Narragansets*, offered himself to the service of the English, and did faithfully perform what he promised, viz. to lead them to the Swamp where the *Indians* had seated themselves within a Fort raised upon an Island of firm earth, in the midst of a Swamp, whither none of the English could have Piloted them, without his assistance, the place being near Eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, Their being by a special providence directed just to a place
* where

where they found so easie entrance; which if they had missed, they could never have made a way through the Hedg, with which they had surrounded the Pallisadoes of the Fort in half a days time.

And *Thirdly*, If they had entred by the way left by the *Indians* for passage, they might have been cut off before they could have come near their Fortification.

Lastly, In directing their motion, to begin the Assault just at the day they did: for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of Snow the next day, that they could not have passed through it in divers weeks after: And then on the sudden there fell such a Thaw, that melted away both Ice and Snow; so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place.

All which considerations put together, make it a signal favour of God to carry them through so many difficulties to accomplish their desired end. For after they were retired to their quarters, but Sixteen miles from that place, there was so great want of Provision, the Vessels being frozen in at the Harbour about *Cape Cod*, that should have brought them relief, and the Frost and Snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the Force they could make (so many of their ablest Soldiers being slain and wounded) to have made another onset: But the goodness of Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the hardship they indured that winter, in very cold Lodgings, hard Marches, Scarcity of Provision, yet not one man was known to dye by any disease or bodily distemper, save them that perished of their wounds.

Our Forces being compelled by the foresaid occasions, to lye still some Weeks after, hoped also that the Enemy so sorely broken, would gladly have sued for peace: But as was said of old, *God hardened their hearts to their own ruine and destruction afterwards*. For as soon as our Soldiers were able to March, finding that all the Enemies overtures of peace, and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time that they might get away into the Woods. They pursued after them, and sometimes came upon their Rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred ways at once into Swamps, so as our men could not follow them; or if they did, could not see two of them together; so that now there was little good like to be done, unless they could take them at some advantage. At length having spent all their Provision, and tiring themselves in pursuing of them sixty or seventy miles, up through the Woods towards *Malborough* and *Lancaster*, Towns that lye in the Road to *Connecticut*, having killed and taken near seventy of them, our Soldiers were ordered to
return

return towards *Boston*, to recruit themselves, supposing that the *Narhagansets*, and those with them, were so enfeebled that they would have no mind suddenly to assault any of the English Towns.

If any desire a more particular account of the loss which we sustain'd at the taking of the *Narhaganset* Fort, *December 19. 1675*, they may take it as here it follows.

Besides the six Captains mentioned before, that either were slain in the assault, or dyed afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. *Upham*, that dyed lately at *Boston*, of the wounds he then received.

received.									
There were slain out of the Com- pany belonging to	{	Major <i>Appleton</i>	3.	{	Wounded	{	22.		
		Capt. <i>Mosely</i>	9.				10.		
		Capt. <i>Oliver</i>	5.				10.		
		Capt. <i>Gardener</i>	7.				11.		
		Capt. <i>Johnson</i>	3.				11.		
		Capt. <i>Davenport</i>	4.				15.		
		in all,	31.			in all,	79.		

There were slain and wounded	{	Of <i>New-haven</i> Company,	20.
		Of Capt. <i>Siely</i> his Company,	20.
		Of Capt. <i>Wats</i> his Company,	17.
		Of Capt. <i>Marshal</i> his Company,	14.
		Of <i>Plimouth</i> Company under Major <i>Bradford</i> and Capt. <i>Goram</i> ,	20.
			In all, 91.

If there had not been so great a distance between the place of the Fight and their Quarters, and so much cold attending them in their retiring thereunto, some better account might have been given of that expedition, than now they were able to do. For a March of Sixteen or Eighteen miles is too much to breathe a fresh Soldier, unless he were well mounted, but enough to kill the heart of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldness of the weather, although it be a good Besom to sweep the Chamber of the Air (which might be the reason there was no more Diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcome Companion to wearied, especially to wounded men, in so long a Retreat.

But the want of Provision falling in conjunction with the unseasonableness of the Weather, and length of the way, hindred our Forces from any

any new attempt upon the Enemy, which if they could have attended, it was thought it might have put an end to our troubles; but he that holdeth the scales of Victory in his hand, turneth them to which side, and by what degrees pleaseth himself best.

The rest of the Winter was spent in fruitless Treaties about a Peace: both sides being well wearied with the late desperate Fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the Winter, with the short slumber of a pretended Peace, at least with a talk or dream thereof: our Commanders aim therein was Christian and good, if it had proceeded, *sc.* to have prevented the shedding of more blood: And possibly some of the elder and wiser of the Enemy, did really desire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full proof of the valour and resolution of the *English*, which some of them upon former successes might be ready to question) and they could not but see their destruction already begun, in the loss of their dwellings, and all their provision, as well as the slaughter of the best part of their fighting men; but either through consciousness of their barbarous treachery and falshood, they could not trust others, and so were willing to run the utmost hazard, as people hardened to their own destruction. The particular passages of the Treaty being carried on by the Enemy only in pretence, and by our men (that soon discerned the fraud) rather out of necessity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However, though the Foot were unable to do any Service in the depth of the snow, and sharpness of the cold, the Horse was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the Country, who brought in daily much of the Enemies Corn and Beans, which they had hid in Barns under the ground, or at least kept them from making use of their own provision, or spoiling the *English* Cattel; now and then also bringing in Prisoners from their Quarters, as they were stragling about to get victuals.

On the twenty seventh of *December*, Captain *Prentice* was sent into *Pomham's* Country, where they burnt near an hundred Wigwams, but found never an *Indian* in any of them.

On the 28th of *December*, a Squaw was sent to them, who had been taken in the Fight, with a proffer of Peace, if they would submit to such Terms as were propounded; the principal of which was, The delivering up of all *Philips Indians* that were with them; The Squaw returned not, pretending that she was lame and unable to come again; but the thirtieth of *December*, an *Indian* came from the Sachims with seeming thanks for the Peace proffered; yet complained we made War upon them, and gave

them no notice; but his mouth was soon stopped, by the answer which was made him: he owned, as the Squaw had said before, that they lost three hundred of their best fighting men, and so did two Prisoners of theirs taken *January* the 4th, whereof one being of *Philips* company, was put to death. The Messenger that was sent was fairly dismissed, with the express mention of what Terms they must expect, if they desired a Peace.

Jan. 7. There came two Messengers from them, as they said, to make way for a Treaty of Peace; who laid the blame upon *Canonchet*, that came down to *Boston* in *October* last, to confirm the peace with the Commissioners of the united Colonies, as if he had mis-informed them, viz. That they were not by the former Treaty to have delivered up the *Wompanoogs*, or *Philips Indians*, until the said *Canonchets* Brother, one of the Hostages at *Hartford*, was released. This was but a meer pretence, for he and they too, better understood the particulars of the Agreement: For by chance, the Articles which they had of the Peace concluded with them, were found open (whether purposely or accidentally, was not known) in a Wigwam in the Fort when it was taken, so as they could not be ignorant of the Articles of the Agreement.

Jan. 5. An English child of about three or four years old, taken from *Warwick*, was sent in to put the better pretence upon the Treaty mentioned.

Jan. 8. The Messengers were sent back, and told what they must trust to. In the afternoon a Messenger came from *Ninigret* the old Sachim of *Narhaganset*, who brought a Letter from Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter, signifying the reality of the said *Ninigret* his Friendship to the English, and the streights of the Enemy; that corn was two shillings a pint with them. Yet notwithstanding all their difficulties, they rather delayed the time till they could get away, than really endeavoured the making a Peace, as was soon manifest: For that young insolent Sachim *Canonchet*, and *Panoquin*, said, they would fight it out to the last man, rather than they would become Servants to the English.

Jan. 10. Fresh supplies of Soldiers came up from *Boston*, vvading through a sharp storm of snow, that bit some of them by the heels with the frost. The next day one that came with them, going out with the Scouts, fell amongst the Indian-Barns, in one of which, as he was groping to find corn for the relief of his Horse, he caught hold of an *Indians* hair under the leaves, who presently held up his hands when the Soldier was drawing his sword, to spare his life, which was granted; but after he was brought to the Head-quarters, he would own nothing but what

was

was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord; wherefore he was presently judged to die as a *Wompanoog*.

Jan. 12. Another Messenger came from *Canonicus*, desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the Treaty, which so provoked the Commander of our Forces, that they resolved to have no more Treaties with the Enemy, but prepare to assault them, with Gods assistance, as soon as ever the season would permit; and it was high time to take up that resolution; for within a few days after, they understood by some that were taken Prisoners, that the Enemy were gone, or going into the *Nipmuck-Country*.

Within a few days after, about *Jan. 16th*, the Scouts brought in one *Josuah Tift*, a Renegado English-man of *Providence*, that upon some discontent amongst his neighbours, had turned *Indian*, married one of the *Indian Squaws*, renounced his Religion, Nation and natural Parents all at once, fighting against them. He was taken by Captain *Fenner* of *Providence*, who with some of his neighbours were pursuing some *Indians* that had driven away their Cattel. This *Tift* being one of the Company, was wounded in the knee, and so was seized by the English; he had in his habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After examination, he was condemned to die the death of a Traytor. As to his Religion he was found as ignorant as an Heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be shed at his Funeral, standers by being unwilling to lavish pity upon him that had divested himself of Nature it self, as well as Religion, in a time when so much pity was needed elsewhere, and nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the Sufferers.

Jan. 21. Capt. *Prentice* his Troop being abroad met with a Party of the Enemy, of whom they took two Prisoners, and killed nine, in which exploit, something hapned very remarkable; for one *W. Dodge* of *Salem*, riding in company with another Friend, they hapned to meet with two *Indians*, the said *Dodge* being better horsed than his Friend, made after the foremost, leaving his Friend to deal with the hindmost; but his Pistol missed firing; whereupon the *Indian* taking him by the leg turn'd him off his Horse, and getting upon him vvas about killing him with his Knife, which *W. Dodge* by chance espied, and came time enough to rescue his Friend, and dispatch the *Indian* lying upon him, and yet overtook the first *Indian* he was pursuing, time enough to do his business also: by that means he did three good offices at once, saved the life of one Friend, and slew two of his Enemies. But within two or three days after, the weather much altering from what it was, induced our Forces to take the first opportunity to pursue the Enemy, who as they under-

stood by Messengers from *Providence*, were now upon their flight into the *Nipmuck-Country*: But so many difficulties were cast in their way, that they could not be ready time enough to prevent the mischief they did at *Warwick*, as they took their Farewell of their Country: For,

Jan. 27, They despoiled Mr. *Carpenter* of two hundred sheep, and fifty head of Neat Cattel, and fifteen Horses; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too far to be rescued before our Forces set out. Two that belonged to the said *Carpenter* were vounded, and one of the enemies slain. As they marched after the Enemy, they found a good House burned, with a Barn belonging to it. They perceived also that the Enemy dealt much in Horse-flesh, meeting with no less than sixty Horses heads in one place, which they had left behind them: our Soldiers in their pursuit came upon their Reer, killed and took about seventy of them, yet never could come to charge them, for they would presently betake themselves into Swamps, and not two of them run together, so as they saw it was an endless work to proceed further in the chase of such an Enemy; but our Forces having pursued them into the Woods between *Marlborough* and *Brookefield* in the Road toward *Connecticut*, were constrained to turn down to *Boston* in the beginning of *February*, for want of provision both for themselves and their Horses, which gave an occasion to the loss of those lesser Towns that were destroyed by the *Nipnet-Indians*, who presently joined with the *Narhagansets* upon their first approach, as shall be related afterwards.

About the tenth of *February* next, some hundreds of the *Indians*, (whether *Nipnets* or *Nashaway-men* is uncertain) belonging to him they call *Sagamore Sam*, and possibly some of the stoutest of the *Narhagansets* that had escaped the Winter-brunt, fell upon *Lancaster*, a small Village of about fifty or sixty Families, and did much mischief, burning most of the Houses that were not Garisoned: and which is most sad and awful to consider, the House of Mr. *Rowlandson*, Minister of the said *Lancaster*, which was Garisoned with a competent number of the Inhabitants; yet the Fortification of the House being on the back-side, closed up with Fire-wood, the *Indians* got so near as to fire a Leanto, which burning the House immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put to that hard choice, either to perish by the flames with the House, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel Salvages; which last (considering that a living Dog is better than a dead Lion) they chose, and so were forty two persons surprized by the *Indians*, above twenty of the Women and Childrien they carried away Captive, a ruful spectacle to behold; the rest being Men, they killed in the

the place, or reserved for further misery: and many of the rest that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The Minister himself was occasionally absent, to seek help from the Governour and Council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the Tragical news of his Wife and Children surprized, and being carried away by the Enemies, and his House turned into Ashes; yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God, as *David at Ziklag*, that he would always say, *he believed he should see his Wife and Children again*, which did in like manner soon come to pass within Five or six months after; all save the youngest, which being wounded at the first, died soon after among the *Indians*.

And such was the goodness of God to those poor Captive Women, and Children, that they found so much favour in the sight of their Enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons, save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil Carriage to any of the Females, nor ever attempted the chastity of any of them, either being restrained of God, as was *Abimelech* of old; or by some other accidental cause, which held them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this Disaster, Capt. *Wadsworth* then at *Marlborough* with about forty resolute men, adventuring the rescuing of the Town that was remaining; and having recovered a Bridge, they gat over safe, though the Planks were pulled off by the Enemy; and being led up in a way not discovered by them, they forced the *Indians* for the present to quit the place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the pleasure of the insulting Foe.

Ten days after they were so flushed with this success, that Two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to *Medfield*, a Town twenty miles from *Boston*, westward from *Dedham*, which they surprized very early in the morning (and though there were One hundred and sixty Soldiers in it or more, besides the Inhabitants) they burnt near one half of the Town, killing about Twenty persons; but by the resistance of the Soldiers, as soon as ever they could be gotten together (it being at or before break of day, none in the least suspecting such an assault so early) they were quickly forced to forsake the place, and so (not without some loss) took their way to *Plimouth Colony*.

The Western Towns above *Connecticut*, were the chief Seat of the War, and felt most of the mischiefs thereof in the end of the year 1675: but the Scene is now to be changed; and the other Towns and the Villages

lages that lye Eastward nearer *Boston*, must bear their part in the like Tragedies : for as was said before, the *Narbagansets* having been driven out of the Country, fled through *Nipnet Plantations*, towards *Wachusset Hills* meeting with all the *Indians* that had harboured all Winter in those Woods about *Nashaway*; they all combined together against the English, yet divided their numbers, and one half of them were observed to bend their course toward *Plimouth*, taking *Medfield* in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, *Feb. 21. 1675*, as their fellows had done *Lancaster* Ten days before.

The surprisal of this *Medfield* in regard of some remarkable circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular Relating the manner thereof : the loss of *Lancaster* had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring Villages, all to stand upon their guard ; and some had obtained Garison-Soldiers for their greater security, as was the case with the Town of *Medfield*, within Twenty-two miles of *Boston*. And at that time were lodged therein several Garison Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants; yet being billated up & down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the Town was set on fire, and many of the Inhabitants slain; which how it could be effected, is strange to believe : But most of those inland Plantations being over-run with young wood (the Inhabitants being every where apt to engross more Land into their hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated in the midst of a heap of Bushes, their Enemies took the advantage thereof, and secretly over-night, conveyed themselves round about the Town, some getting under the sides of the Barns and Fences of their Orchards, as is supposed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they suddenly set upon sundry Houses, shooting them that came first out of their doors, and then fired their Houses, especially those houses where the Inhabitants were repaired to Garisons, were fit for the purpose : some were killed as they attempted to fly to their Neighbours for shelter : some were only wounded, and some taken alive and carried Captive ; in some Houses the Husband running away with one Child, the Wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped : they began at the East-end of the Town, where they fired the House of one *Samuel Morse*, that seems to have been a signal to the rest to fall on in other parts : most of the Houses in the West or Southwest end of the Town were soon burnt down : and generally when they burnt any out-houses, the Cattel in them were burnt also. Two Mills belonging to the Town were burnt also : a poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the Houses that were consumed

sumed by fire. The Lieutenant of the Town, *Adams* by name, was shot down by his own door, and his Wife mortally wounded by a Gun fired afterwards accidentally in the House. After the burning of Forty or fifty Houses and Barns, the *Cannibals* were frighted away out of the Town over a Bridg that lies upon *Charls River*, by the shooting off a piece of Ordnance 2 or 3 times: when they had passed over the Bridge they fired one end thereof, to hinder our men from pursuing them; they were thought to be above Five hundred. There were slain and mortally wounded Seventeen or eighteen persons, besides others dangerously hurt. The loss sustained by the Inhabitants amounted to above Two thousand pounds. This mercy was observed in this sad providence, that never a Garison-house was lost in this surprisal; nor any of the principal Dwellings; so as the chiefeft and best of their Building escaped the fury of the Enemy, who as they passed the Bridg, left a writing behind them, expressing something to this purpose, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us this Twenty years (but they fell short of their expectation by nineteen) adding also, that they had nothing to lose, whereas we had Houses, Barns and Corn: these were some of the bold threats used by the barbarous crew, but their rage shall proceed no further than the counsell of God had determined. The week before was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of Wolves round the Town, which raised some of the Inhabitants, and was looked upon by divers as an ominous prefaging of this following Calamity.

Another assault was feared; but as soon as the Soldiers could be gathered together, they turned their backs, as if they never intended to visit them more: whither these *Indians* went when they left *Medfield* is not so certainly known; the Soldiers in the Town not having opportunity to pursue them over the River, by reason that the Bridge was part of it burned; but it is most probable that they took their way toward *Plimouth*, and continued about that side of the Country for the future, waiting opportunities to do vvhhat mischief they could to the English in those parts: For vvithin a month after this assault of *Medfield*, there vv as near six hundred of them seen about *Patuxit* and *Providence*, vvhere Capt. *Pierce* vvith about fifty of his men vv ere lost, though vvith no great advantage to the Enemy, vvho at that time lost above double that number: our vvorthy Captains in this and other exploits beng called to imitate *Sampson*, vvho vv as content to dye vvith his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby: it having so fallen out vvith many of our choice Commanders and Soldiers at *Deerfield*, *Narhaganset*, *Patuxit*, and likewise not long after at *Sudbury*.

The

The Governor and Council of *Plimouth* perceiving by the report of these outrages committed upon the Towns of the *Massachusetts*, that they were like to be visited this Spring by their old Neighbours, sent out Capt. *Pierce* of *Scituate*, about the latter end of *March*, with about fifty English, and twenty of their Christian Indians about *Cape Cod*, who proved none of his worst Soldiers, as the sequel of this his last expedition will declare.

Capt. *Pierce*, as is said before, being sent out to pursue the Enemy, marched towards *Patuxit*, where he understood the *Indians* were many of them gathered together: he being a man of resolute courage, was willing to engage them, though upon never so great disadvantage: some say the *Indians* by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of Ambush; possibly more of them discovered themselves after he began to engage, than he was aware of: and being gotten over the River in pursuit of them, where he discovered so great a number of them, he drove down towards the side of the River, hoping the better by that means to prevent their surrounding of him; but that proved his overthrow, which he intended as his greatest advantage: for the *Indians* getting over the River, so galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himself thus assaulted on all sides; & himself not being able to travel much a foot, was thereby hindered from retiring to any better place in time; so as he saw himself constrained to fight it out to the last; which he did with most undaunted Courage, & as is said, to the slaughter of an hundred and forty of his Enemies, before himself and his Company were cut off. It is said also, that being apprehensive of the danger he was in, by the great numbers of the Enemy, like to overpower him with their multitude, he sent a Messenger timely enough to *Providence*, for relief; but (as *Solomon* saith, *A faithful Messenger is as Snow in harvest: another is as smoke to the eyes and vinegar to the teeth*), whether through sloth or Cowardize, is not much material, this message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent; by accident only some of *Rehoboth* understanding of the danger, after the evening-exercise (it being on the Lords day, *March 26. 1676*) repaired to the place; but then it was too late to bring help, unless it were to be Spectators of the dead Carcasses of their friends, and to perform the last office of love to them.

It is worth the noting, what faithfulness and courage some of the Christian *Indians* with the said Capt. *Pierce* shewed in the Fight: one of them, *Amos* by name, after the Captain was shot in his leg or thigh, so as he was not able to stand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his Gun several times, fired stoutly upon the Enemy, till he

saw

saw that there was no possibility for him to do any further good to Capt. *Pierce*, nor yet to save himself, if he stayed any longer; therefore he used this policy, perceiving the Enemy had all blacked their faces, he also stooping down, pulled out some blacking out of a pouch he carried with him, discoloured his face therewith, and so making himself look as like *Hobamacko* as any of his Enemies: he ran amongst them a little while, and was taken for one of themselves, as if he had been searching for the English, until he had an opportunity to escape away among the Bushes: therein imitating the Cuttle-Fish, which when it is pursued, or in danger, casteth out of its body a thick humor, as black as Ink, through which it passeth away unseen by the pursuer.

It is reported of another of these *Cape Indians* (Friends to the English of *Plimouth*) that being pursued by one of the Enemies, he betook himself to a great Rock, where he sheltered himself for a while; at last perceiving that his Enemy lay ready with his Gun on the other side, to discharge upon him, as soon as he stir'd never so little away from the place where he stood: in the issue he thought of this politick Stratagem to save himself, and destroy his Enemy, (for as *Solomon* said of old, *Wisdom is better than Weapons of War* :) he took a stick, and hung his Hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be seen, and so become a fit mark for the other that watched to take aim at him: the other taking it to be his head, fired a Gun, and shot through the Hat; which our Christian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his head and discharged his own Gun upon the real head, not the hat of his Adversary, whereby he shot him dead upon the place, and so had liberty to march away with the spoils of his Enemy.

The like subtle device was used by another of the *Cape Indians* at the same time, being one of them that went out with Capt. *Pierce*; for being in like manner pursued by one of *Philip's Indians*, as the former was, he nimbly got behind the But-end of a Tree newly turned up by the roots, which carried a considerable breadth of the surface of the Earth along with it (as is very usual in these parts, where the roots of the Trees lie very fleet in the ground) which stood up above the Indian's height, in form of a large Shield, only it was somewhat too heavy to be easily weilded, or removed: the Enemy-Indian lay with his Gun ready to shoot him down, upon his first dissenting his station; but a subtle wit taught our Christian *Netop* a better device; for boring a little hole through this his broad Shield, he discerned his enemy, who could not so easily discern him; a good Musketer need never desire a fairer mark to shoot at: whereupon discharging his Gun, he shot him down: what can be more just than that he should himself be killed, who lay in

wait to kill another man? — *Neque enim Lex justior ulla est,
Quam necis Artifices arte perire sua.*

Instances of this nature shew the subtilty and dexterousness of these Natives, if they were improved in feats of Arms: and possibly if some of the English had not been too shy in making use of such of them as were well affected to their interest, they need never have suffered so much from their enemies: it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very serviceable and helpful to the English; they usually proving good Seconds, though they have not ordinarily confidence enough to make the first Onset.

But to return to the proceeding of the *Indians* toward *Plimouth*:

Feb. 25, They assaulted *Weymouth*, and burned seven or eight Houses & Barns there, which *Weymouth* is a Town lying towards *Plimouth Colony*.

March 12. following, They assaulted the house of one Mr. *Clark* in *Plimouth*, cruelly murdering eleven persons that belonged to two Families that lodged therein, and then fired the house. The cruelty towards these persons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindness from the said *Clark*. It is the usual custome of such Debtors, to use them worst, of whom they have taken up much kindness upon trust before hand.

March 17. Another party of them fell upon *Warwick*, a place beyond *Philip's Land*; toward the *Narrhaganset Country*, where they burnt down to the ground all but a few houses, left standing as a Monument of their barbarous fury. The like mischief was acted by them upon the houses of the English remaining in the *Narrhaganset Country*.

This 26 of *March* being the first day of the Week, as the first of the year after our *Julian* account, seemed ominous at the first on sundry accounts, threatening a gloomy time, yet proved in the issue but as a louring morning before a lightsome day: For besides the burning of *Marlborough*, at least a great part of it on the same day a very sad accident fell out the same time at *Springfield*, as shall be specified hereafter; besides that which befell Capt. *Pierce*, which is already related, with whom fell so many of his Soldiers on the same day also: yet had the Enemy no cause to boast, being forced by the valor of the English, to give so many of their own lives in exchange: some few made their escape, as is said by subtil devices: besides the three forementioned, another by a like shift, not only saved himself, but helped an English-man to escape also, whom he ran after with his Hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him; where-by both of them made a shift to get away: the rest were all lost, (the unfaithfulness of the Messenger being as was intimated before, the

the cause of their slaughter) unto a few that hardly escaped by the advantage of the bushes, giving them opportunity to pass unseen: yet was it confessed by a Prisoner of the Enemy, taken afterward by the English, that they lost an hundred and forty in that Encounter. And had not the said English by wading after the enemy over a River, made their ammunition useles, there had not half so many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards *Rehoboth* near *Swanzy*, where on *March 28*, they burnt thirty Barns, and near upon forty dwelling Houses, thereby as it were threatening the utter desolation of that poor Town; and so proceeding on that side the Country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houses in *Providence* in the way toward *Narrhaganset*.

But it was now full sea with *Philip* his affairs: for soon after the tide of his successes began to turn about the Sea-coast, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the Country. For about this time news came to *Boston* that our neighbours and friends of *Connecticut Colony* hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that side of the Country, sent a party of their Soldiers, under the Command of Capt. *George Denison*, with some friendly *Indians*, part *Mohegins* and *Pequods*, part *Nianticks* belonging to *Ninigret* a *Narrhaganset Sachem*, who never engaged in this quarrel against the English; who in pursuit of the enemy, meeting with a considerable part of them about the *Narrhaganset Country*, killed and took forty and five of them, without the loss of one of their own men. This Victory was the more considerable, in that several of the chief Captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken; amongst whom was *Canonchet* (who came down to get seed-corn to plant at *Squakheag*) he was the chief *Sachem* of all the *Narrhagansets*: the son of *Miantonimoh*, and the heir of all his fathers pride and insolency, as well as of his malice against the English; a most perfidious villain, who had the last *October* been at *Boston*, pretending to make a firm peace with the English, but never intending to keep one Article thereof: Therefore as a just reward of his wickedness was he adjudged by those that took him, to die, which was accordingly put in execution at *Stonington*, whither he was carried: There his head being cut off, was carried to *Hartford*: The *Mohegins* and *Pequods* that had the honour to take him prisoner, having the honour likewise of doing justice upon him, and that by the prudent advice of the English Commanders, thereby the more firmly to engage the said *Indians* against the treacherous *Narrhagansets*. There are differing reports about the manner of his taking, and by whom, whither the *Indians* or the English first took him; however it was sufficient matter of rejoicing to all the Colonies of the English,

that the Ring-leader of almost all this mischief, and great Incendiary betwixt the *Narrhagansets* and us, died himself by that sword of war which he had drawn against others.

Not long after Capt. *George Denison* of *Stonington*, with sixty six Volunteers, and an hundred and twelve *Pequods*, killed and took seventy and six of the enemy, amongst whom were two *Narrhaganset* Sachems, one of which was the Grand-child of *Pomham* (who is accounted the most warlike and the best Soldier of all the *Narrhaganset* Sachems) taking at the same time 160 Bushels of the Enemies Corn, no small damage to our Enemies at that time, and all this without the loss of one man of the said Captains followers.

The greatest mischief which after this time was done by the Enemy in *Plimouth Colony*, was by burning of Houses and Barns, which they might easily do, the Inhabitants in most of those Towns being repaired to Garrison-houses for their greater security: For about the 20th of *April*, fifty of the Enemy burnt about nineteen Houses and Barns at *Scituate*, but were so resolutely encountered by a few of the Inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing of further mischief.

Not long after, *May* 8, they burned about seventeen Houses and Barns in *Bridgewater*, a small Town in *Plimouth Colony*, ten or twelve miles on this side *Taunton*, but it pleased God just at the time to send a Thunder-shower, which put out the fire, or else it might have prevailed much further.

It is very remarkable, that the Inhabitants of the said *Bridgewater*, never yet lost one person by the sword of the Enemy, though the Town is situate within *Plimouth Colony*; yet have they helped to destroy many of the Enemy. None knows either love or hatred by all that is before them in things of this nature: nor ought standers by that may escape, think themselves less sinners than those that so perish by the sword of the Enemy: Yet about this time four of the Inhabitants of *Taunton* were killed, as they were at their work in the field, whereby it is said, thirty Children were made Fatherless: So unsearchable are the judgments of the Almighty, and his ways past finding out.

During these Calamities, Gods Dispensations have been very various, as well in reference unto Towns and Villages, as unto persons: As if some places had been by special providence marked out to preservation, as others unto destruction; of which no other reason can be rendered according unto man, than the good pleasure of God so to order and dispose of events, which sometimes, as *Solomon* says, are all one to the good, and to the clean, and to the unclean. And

And because special notice is taken of the Town of *Bridgewater*, the which although it is seated, as it were, in the midst of danger, and hath been often assaulted by considerable numbers of the Enemy, yet never lost any one of their Inhabitants, young or old; a particular account shall here be given of the most remarkable passages of Divine Providence relating to that Plantation since the War began.

June 26. 1675, when *Philip's* malice against the English, mixed with a particular prejudice against Governour *Winslow*, began to boil up to the height of an open Rebellion, the people of *Swanzy* being like to be distressed by the *Indians*, a Post was instantly sent to the Governour of *Plimouth*, the way lying through *Bridgewater*, the said Post returned the next day; and about nine or ten of the Clock, as he passed through the Town, left an Order from the Governour for the raising of 20 men, well armed and furnished with Horses, to be forthwith dispatched away for the relief of *Swanzy*; seventeen were all that could be raised on the sudden, who were sent thither that night, and were the first that were upon their march in all the Country; and possibly they fared not the worse for their forwardness: as *Deborah* the Prophetess, blessed God for them that offered themselves willingly among the People: These seventeen of *Bridgewater* were June 21, ordered by Capt. *Bradford* to *Metapoiset* a place at twelve miles distance from *Swanzy*, to strengthen the Garison at one *Bourn's* House, wherein were seventy persons, amongst whom were only found sixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. *Brown's* Son for their Pilot, they met with some *Swanzy* people; newly turned out of their Houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto Blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands; and bewailing of their losses, very much also perswading *Bridgewater*-men to turn back, because of the danger; but they having so clear a call, had also more courage than cowardly to desert the cause of God and his People, lest they should thereby betray the lives of so many of their friends into the Enemies hands; and so by the good hand of God towards them, came safe to *Metapoiset* that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. *Brown* their Pilot back to his quarters; in their return they came suddenly upon a party of *Indians*, about thirty in all; they were within shot one of another, but the English having no Commission to fight, till they were assaulted, and not being impeached in their passage, they returned safe to their Garison at *Metapoiset*: the *Indians* presently drawing off, and firing three Guns (though not with intent to do them any hurt;

hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them, when this party of the English drew near to their Garrison, they met with a company of Carts going to fetch Corn from an house deserted near by, about a quarter of a mile off from Mr. *Bourne's* house; the Soldiers gave them notice of the *Indians* which they had discovered, and withal advised them by no means to venture any more, because of the danger: but they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest perswasions of the Soldiers, to have another turn, which they soon found to be to the peril of their own lives, six of them being presently after either killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the Barn where was the Corn; these six are said to be the first that were slain in this quarrel. The Soldiers at the Garrison hearing the Guns, made what haste they could to the place, but being most of them in that interim gone to look their Horses, they could not come time enough to the relief of their friends; yet upon their approach, they who had done the mischief, presently fled away: one *Jones* hard pursued by two *Indians*, was by their coming delivered from the extent of the Enemies cruelty, but having received his mortal wound, had only that favour thereby, to die in the Arms of his friends, though by the wounds received from his Enemies.

The next week, fifteen of those Soldiers looking after their Horses, fell into an Ambush of twenty of the *Indians*, but being prepared for the encounter, they discharged their Guns upon each other: but our men received no hurt, some of them felt the wind of the Bullets passing by their faces; what damage the Enemy received is uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their Enemies dead bodies in the place afterward.

Thus were they not only preserved in many perils themselves, but became instrumental also for the preservation of most of that Garrison, who with their goods by their means, with the help of a small party of *Plimouth* Forces sent thither after the six were killed (as is mentioned before) were soon after transported safely to *Road-Island*.

Many outrages were that Summer committed upon their Neighbours at *Taunton* and *Namasket*; yet it pleased God to protect this poor Town of *Bridgewater* from any other hurt, till the beginning of *April* next, when themselves with their Neighbours of *Taunton* and *Rehoboth*, were strongly solicited to desert their Dwellings, and repair down to the Towns by the Sea-side; but God encouraged them to keep their stations notwithstanding the extream danger then presented. It is reported that *Philip* gave order that *Taunton* and *Bridgewater* should not be destroyed till the last, which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy,
but

but these things are only in the hands of God, and not to be determined by man.

Apr. 9. being the Lords-day, A small party of the Enemy came down upon the said *Bridgewater*, burnt an out-house and barn, broke up and rifled several other houses in the same quarter of the Town, which are notwithstanding yet remaining; they sent out a party of their men to pursue them that night, and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7. the Lords-day also (no doubt but the betterness of the day will increase the badness of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a great body of *Indians* dispersed that way, with intent to have fallen upon the Town that very day, but were casually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before: however they were resolved to foreflow no opportunity, wherefore on the next day (*May 8.*) about three hundred of them, one *Tisguogen* being their chief Leader, at eight or nine in the morning made an assault upon the East-end of the Town, on the South-side of the River: many of the Inhabitants stayed at home that morning because of the intelligence the day before, and so were the more ready to entertain them; some that not taking that warning ventured into the field about their occasions, were in danger of surprizal, but by the special favour of God escaped, and came time enough to help to defend their own and their neighbours dwellings, being shot at, and hard pursued a considerable way.

The *Indians* presently began to fire the Town, but it pleased God so to spirit and encourage several of the Inhabitants, issuing out of their Garrison-houses; that they fell upon them with great resolution, & beat them off: at the same instant of time, the Lord of Hosts also fighting for them from Heaven, by sending a storm of thunder and rain very seasonably, which prevented the burning of the houses which were fired: The Soldiers also fighting under the banner of Gods special protection were so successful in repelling the Enemy, that they neither had any of the Inhabitants killed or taken, and but one wounded. The *Indians* by this stout resistance, being beaten off to the skirts of the Town, made a fresh onset upon another quarter thereof, on the North-side of the River where they had done much more mischief, but that God stirred up sundry of the people to venture out of their fortified houses, who fired upon the enemy, and beat them from their dwellings, so as in the evening they drew off to an out-house, 3. miles distant from the Town: the next day the Inhabitants expected another assault, but the enemy having burned the house & barn where they kept their Rendezvous over night, & one house:

house more not far distant, they marched all clear away for that time.

Thus it pleased God so to order his dispensations, toward this small Town, as a brand plucked out of the fire, that they did but just taste of this bitter cup, which others drank deeper of; yet had they not such mercy, as these had, mixed therewith: under God, the courage of the Inhabitants was a great means of their preservation, for they fired so stoutly upon the Enemies, that they durst not come very near any of the Garisoned Houses, saluting them only at a distance. God was eminently seen upholding the spirits of all sorts, men and women, so as no consternation of mind was seen upon any of them, during the whole time of the dispute.

In this assault they lost but thirteen dwelling-houses, whereof five only were in the Town (the rest being out-houses and deserted for the present) with some few Barns, and some of their Cattel; all which was a very inconsiderable loss, in comparison of what befell others; and themselves might have endured, if God had not by his special favour prevented.

July 14, & 15, Another party of *Indians* came down upon the North-west side of the Town, but with no better success; for they had no Commission from the Lord of Hosts to touch any of the persons of the Inhabitants, their power reaching only to the slaying of their Cattel at this time.

July 18, 19, 20. They sent out parties after the Enemy to pursue them by their Track, who fell upon some of them. On the twentieth they took sixteen, whereof two were men: on this day they had to assist them, it seems some of the *Bay-Indians* sent them from Captain *Brattle*; some of the Captives informed, that there were but 70 or 80 in the Company, and but ten or twelve men amongst them: but within a few days, these *Bridgewater* men shall find better success in pursuit of their Enemies, when *Philip* himself shall hardly escape their hands, as shall be seen afterwards.

While one party of the Enemy thus acted their part in and about *Plimouth Colony*, towards the Sea-coast, other parties of them were not idle in the *Massachusetts Colony*, where they assaulted many places, doing what mischief they could by firing of Houses, and killing several persons in the Inland Plantations.

March 2. They assaulted *Groton*: the next day over night Maj. *Wil- lard* with seventy Horse came into the Town; forty Foot also came up to their relief from *Watertown*, but the *Indians* were all fled, having first burned all the Houses in the Town, save four that were Garisoned, the

the Meeting-house, being the second house they fired. Soon after, Capt. Sill was sent with a small Party of Dragoons of 8 Files to fetch off the Inhabitants of *Groton*, and what was left, from the spoil of the Enemy, having under his conduct about sixty Carts, being in depth from Front to Rear above two Miles: when a party of *Indians* lying in ambush at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the Front, and mortally wounded two of the vaunt Carriers, who died both the next night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent damage to the whole Body, it being a full hour before the whole Body could be drawn up, which was done with care and Courage: but the *Indians* after a few more shot made, without doing harm, retired, and made no further assault upon them, being the same Party of *Indians* which the day before had burned some part of *Chelmsford*. Soon after this Village was deserted and destroyed by the Enemy: yet was it a special providence, that though the Carts were guarded with so slender a Convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

The surprizal of *Groton* was after this manner.

On *March 2*, the *Indians* came in the night and rifled eight or nine Houses, and carried away some Cattel, and alarmed the Town.

On *March 9*, about ten in the morning, a parcel of *Indians* (having two days lurked in the Town, and taken possession of three out-Houses, and feasted themselves with corn, divers Swine and Poultry which they there seized) laid an ambush for two Carts, which went from their Garrison to fetch in some Hay, attended with four men, two of which espying the Enemy, made a difficult escape: the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, strip'd naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the High-way, and laid on his back in a most shameful manner: the other taken Captive, and after sentenced to death, but the Enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the night before he was designed to slaughter, and fled to the Garrison of *Lancaster*, the cattel in both Towns wounded, and five of them slain outright.

March 13, was the day when the Enemy came in a full body, by their own account 400, and thought by the Inhabitants to be not many fewer. The Town was at that time (having been put into a fright by the sad Catastrophe of *Lancaster* the next bordering Town) gathered into five Garrisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattel belonging to those Families driven into Pastures, which afterward proved their preservation; the other was near a mile distant from the rest.

This morning the *Indians* (having in the night placed themselves in several parts of the Town) made their Onset, which began near the four Garisons: for a body of them having placed themselves in Ambuscado behind a Hill, near one of the Garisons, two of them made discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon discovery. At this time divers of the people, nothing suspecting any such matter (for the day before, many had been upon discovery many miles, and found no signs of an Enemy being so near) were attending their occasions: some foddering their cattel, some milking their Cows, of whom the Enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two *Indians* were at length espied, and the Alarm given; whereupon the most of the men in the next Garison, and some also of the second (which was about eight or nine pole distant) drew out and went to surprize these two *Indians*, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the Hill, then arose the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat, or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded: mean while another ambush had risen, and come upon the backside of the Garison so deserted of men, and pulled down the Pallisadoes: The Soldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by to the next Garison, the Women and Children mean while exposed to hazard; but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified House without any harm, leaving their substance to the Enemy, vvhho made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and Household-stuff (in which loss five Families were impoverished) and firing upon the other Garison: here also they took some Cattel. No sooner was the signal given by the first volley of shot, but immediately in several parts of the Town at once, did the smoak arise, they firing the Houses.

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprized the single Garison, but God prevented. An old *Indian*, passed along the street with a black sheep on his back, with a slow pace, as one decrepit: They made several shot at him, but missed him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive; but the Watchman seasonably espying an ambush behind the House, gave the signal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the Enemy lodged in the Town, some of them in the Garison they had surprized, but the Body of them in an adjacent valley, vvhhere they made themselves merry after their salvage manner. The next morning they gave two or three Volleys at Capt. *Parkers*

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Garifon, and so marched off, fearing as was thought that supply might be nigh at hand. This assault of theirs was managed with their wonted subtilty and barbarous cruelty; for they strip'd the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole looking towards his own Land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug up out of his Grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and strip'd off his winding-sheet. An Infant which they found dead in the House first surprized, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the swine. There were about forty dwelling Houses burnt at that time, besides other Buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the Town, and scattering of the Inhabitants, and removal of the Candlestick, after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprizing of *Groton*, *March 13*, There was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolency of *John Monoco*, or *one-eyed John*, the chief Captain of the *Indians* in that design; who having by a sudden surprizal early in the morning seized upon a Garifon-house in one end of the Town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call to our Captain *Parker*, that was lodged in another Garifon-house, and entertained a great deal of Discourse with him; whom he called *his old Neighbour*: dilating upon the cause of the War, and putting an end to it by a friendly Peace: yet oft mixing bitter Sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts at their praying and worshipping God in the Meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burned. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night, he said he burnt *Medfield* (though it be not known whether he was there personally present or no), *Lancaster*, and that now he would burn that Town of *Groton*, and the next time he would burn *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Water town*, *Cambridg*, *Charlstown*, *Roxbury*, *Boston*: adding at last in their Dialect, *What Me will, Me do*; not much unlike the proud *Assyrian* (if his power had been equal to his pride) sometimes threatned against *Jerusalem*, but was by the remarkable providence of God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and fourscore (of vvhich he now boasted) and only with a few more Bragadozio's like himself, *Sagamore Sam*, old *Jethro*, and the *Sagamore* of *Quobaog*, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the Gallows (through *Boston Streets*, which he threatned to burn at his pleasure) with an Halter about his neck, with which he was hang-

ed at the Towns end, September 26, in this present year 1676; So let thine Enemies perish, O Lord, and such contempt be poured on all them that open their mouths to blaspheme thy Holy Name.

Things looked with a pretty sad face about those parts at this time; yet, though the Righteous fall seven times, let not their Enemies rejoyce; for the Righteous shall rise again, but their wicked Enemies shall fall into mischief, and rise no more. It was Ebbing-water with New-England at this time, and a while after; but God shall turn the stream before it be long, and bring down their Enemies to lick the dust before them.

After this, April 17, Captain Sill, being appointed to keep Garifon at Groton, some Indians coming to hunt for Swine, three Indians drew near the Garifon-house, supposing it to have been deserted, two of them were slain by one single shot made by the Captains own hands, and the third by another shot made from the Garifon.

The danger which these inland Towns were like to be exposed unto from the Enemy, after they were driven out of the *Narhaganset Country*, was foreseen by the Council of the *Massachusetts*, yea, they had some intimation thereof from the Enemy themselves: but they were not well able to prevent it, in that unseasonable time of the year, no vway fit for marching of Soldiers, and transporting of Provisions (the Winter then beginning to break up in this Country); for while our Forces were up in the *Narhaganset Country* in the Winter, a couple of Christian Indians were sent as Spies into the *Nipnet* and *Narhaganset Country*, through the Woods in the depth of Winter, vwhen the vways were impassible for any other sort of people: these two, by name *James* and *Job*, ordered their business so prudently, as that they were admitted into those Indian habitations as Friends, and had free liberty of Discourse with them; they vv ere at the first a little jealous of them, but by the means of *One eyed John* (a great Captain of the Indians, that afterward led them that spoiled Groton, vvho having been a Companion of one of the said Spies both in Hunting, and in fighting against the *Mohawks* formerly; so esteemed of him, that he would not suffer any of the rest to touch him); they passed through all the Indian Towns lying thirty miles distant from *Quobaog*, and twenty miles Northward of the Road to *Connecticut*: one of the said Spies returned about Jan 24, informing those that sent him, what he observed, both the number of the Indians (about three hundred in all), also their severall Towns, and what provision they had: plenty of Venison, much Pork from the English mens Hogs which they had taken: they confessed likewise, that he and some of his Party had killed the people of *Nashaway* the last year, suspected to

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have been done by the *Indians* of *Marlborough*: he told them also they intended to burn *Lancaster* within three weeks after that time, which accordingly they did much about the same time: adding moreover, that some *Frenchmen* were with them at *Pocomptuck*, encouraging of them to go on with their designs, promising them assistance, which made some ready to think the *Indians* were stirred up by the *French* to do all this mischief, but more of that afterwards: what might be gathered from the foresaid premises is easie to conceive; whereupon new Forces with as much speed as the season would allow, were raised and sent up into those parts, under the command of Major *Savage* in chief: they were dispatched away in the beginning of *March*, and appointed to meet with such as should be sent from *Connecticut Colony*, which they did about *Quabaog*, and so intended to march directly up to those *Indian-Towns* about *Watchusset Hill* to the *Northwest*: but the *Indians* were gone, and our Forces in the pursuit of them, taking the wrong path, missed of them; yet ranging through those woods, they were at one time suddenly assaulted by a small party of *Indians* firing upon them, wounding Mr. *Gershom Bulkly*, by a shot in his Thigh, and killing one of their Soldiers, after which, as they marched along, they accidentally fell upon another small party of the Enemy, of whom they slew some, and took others to the number of Sixteen, yet could not meet with the main Body of the Enemy who it seems had passed over a great River by Rafts, so our men could follow them no further; wherefore turning down towards *Hadly* and *Northampton*, whither it was supposed the *Indians* intended to pass, they came very seasonably to the relief of the said Towns, which else had been in danger of being lost. For,

March 14, the Enemy fell upon *Northampton*, and in three places broke through the Fortification of Pallizadoes, set up round about the Town a little before, for their better security; but the Town being at that time full of Soldiers, they were quickly repulsed, after they had killed four men and two women, and fired Four or five dwelling-houses, and as many Barns, with the loss of many of their lives, as was supposed.

While our Forces under Major *Savage* continued on that side of the Country, a sad accident fell out at *Springfield*, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate, to prevent mistakes: the matter having through a great oversight been otherwise represented, than indeed it was, not only to the prejudice of Truth, but to the disadvantage of some persons concerned therein. While the Soldiers were quartered amongst the several Towns upon *Connecticut River*; a party of the Troop

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were quartered at a place belonging to *Springfield* called the *Long-Meadow*, Three miles from the Town below toward *Windfor*: several of the Inhabitants having most of the Winter kept from the publick meeting on the Lords days, for fear of the Enemy, were encouraged to adventure to the Assembly on the 26th of *March*, riding in the company of the Troopers; but having heard of no *Indians* thereabouts a good while, were more secure than they had cause; for riding some of them with women behind them, and some with their Children in their Arms yet not so careful as to keep in the middle, but rather in the Rear, and at a pretty distance stragling from the rest of the Company, a party of *Indians* lying in the Bushes as they rode along, fired upon the hindmost, and killed Two and wounded others: those in the Front having also Women and Maids behind some of them, were at a stand to know what to do, fearing they might expose those Women they had in their company, if they should ride back (in that winding Road made through a woody place for a mile or two together) to look after them that were behind; at the last, one that came riding up, told the foremost company there was no hurt, and that they were all coming: they that were before, rode away with all speed to the end of the Town, where setting down the Women, the Troopers returned back, but too late to recover too poor Women & two Children, who upon the first assault were thrown off their Horses, and immediately haled into the Bushes, and through a Swamp on the other side of a steep Bark, so as they could not be heard of all that afternoon, nor the next day, till toward night; although they were diligently searched after by all the Troopers in and about the Town; At last when they were descryed just by a Swamp side, the cruel wretches endeavoured to have killed them all, but in haste only wounded them with their Hatchets, yet so as one of the poor creatures recovered; the other with the Children dyed of their wounds before they were brought home, or within a little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power; but by the Farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty*.

There hapned no other matter of moment worthy the reporting, while our Forces tarried in those parts; and the Commanders observing that the Enemy was turned back again through the Woods, towards the *Massachusetts Bay*, after a months time retired back, yet could never meet with the Enemy in their return through the Woods, although while they were at the Towns aforesaid, they understood of several attempts made upon *Sudbury*, *Marlborough*, the most part of which last they

they destroyed *March 26*, which made the Inhabitants forsake their Dwellings, leaving only a few Houses garisoned with Soldiers, the better to secure a passage to the Towns westward upon *Connecticut River*.

The Inhabitants of *Sudbury*, with the Soldiers under Lieut. *Jacobs* of *Marlborough* sufficiently alarmed by the late mischief done about those Towns, resolved to try what work they could make with the Enemy in the night; whereupon going forth *March 27*, toward morning, they discerned where the Enemy lay by their fires, (near Three hundred of them) and that within half a mile of a garison-house, near the place where they had done so much mischief the day before. Such was the courage and resolution of the English, though but Forty in number, Towns men and Soldiers, that they adventured to discharge upon them as they lay by their fires, when it was so dark that an *Indian* could hardly be discerned from a better man; yet God so directing, they discharged several times upon them, wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either dyed of their wounds the same day or soon after, which had been chief agents in this present mischief against the English. Such was the success of this skirmish, that the Assailants came off without the loss of one man.

After this time the Enemy began to scatter about in small parties, doing what mischief they could about the *Massachusetts*, killing a man at *Weymouth*, another at *Hingham*, as they lay skulking up and down in Swamps and holes, to assault any that occasionally looked never so little into the Woods; sometimes alarming the Towns about *Boston* by discharging guns upon particular persons; at *Billerica*, *Braintree*, and at *Rentham*, near about which place in the Road to *Rehoboth*, they assaulted one *Woodcock's* house, killed one man, and one of his sons, wounded another, and burned his sons house.

Notwithstanding the little success of former attempts, *Philip* and his men have one prize more to play in the *Massachusetts Colony*, before they go off the stage, and then we shall soon see their power visibly declining every where, until their final overthrow come upon them. There were several small Parties of them scattered up and down all over the Country, yet the main Body of them was still lurking up and down in those woods that lye between *Brookfield*, *Marlborough* and *Connecticut-River*. Possibly they had some hope of driving all the Country before them to the Towns upon the Sea coast; for having burned the deserted houses at *Marlborough*, *April 17*, the next day they set upon *Sudbury* with all their might, (hoping 'tis like) to do there, as they had done at the Towns next beyond it. They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several Houses, and Barns, and kill several persons, Ten or twelve of the

the English, that came from *Concord* to assist their neighbours at *Sudbury*, a Town distant Five miles from them, at the first hearing of the Alarm; who unawares were surpris'd near a *Garison* house, in hope of getting some advantage upon a small Party of the Enemy that presented themselves in a Meadow; a great number of *Indians* that lay unseen in the bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the passage to the *Garison*-house, killed and took them all.

But our sorrows and losses that day are not yet come to their height; for in the after part of the same day, that resolute stout-hearted Soldier, Capt. *Wadsworth* (who had not long before, with not above forty men, rescued *Lancaster*, when it was in danger to have been all lost at once) being sent from *Boston* with fifty Soldiers to relieve *Marlborough*, having marched Five and twenty miles, and then understanding the Enemy was gone through the Woods toward *Sudbury*: this unwearied Company, before ever they had taken any considerable rest, march'd immediately back toward *Sudbury* (that lies ten miles nearer *Boston*) and being come within a mile of the Town, they espied a party of *Indians* not far from them, about an hundred, not more, as they conceived, these they might easily deal with; who retiring back a while, drew Capt. *Wadsworth* and his Company above a mile into the Woods, when on the sudden a great body of the Enemy appeared, about Five hundred as was thought, who compassing them in round, forced them to the top of an hill, where they made very stout resistance a considerable while; but the night drawing on, and some of the Company beginning to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, so as the Enemy taking the chase, pursued them on every side, as they made too hasty a retreat, by which accident, being so much overpowered by the Enemies numbers, they were most of them lost: the Captain himself, with one Captain *Brocklebank* (a choice spirited man, much lamented by the Town of *Rowly* to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his Company as he marched along, scarce twenty escaping in all; so as another Captain and his fifty perished at that time, of as brave Soldiers as any were ever employed in the present service.

Thus as in former attempts of like nature, too much courage and eagerness in pursuit of the Enemy, hath added another fatal blow to this poor Country.

The same day another party of the English coming from *Brookfield*, whither they were sent as a Convoy with Provision for the *Garison*, were in danger likewise of falling into the hands of the same *Indians*; yet riding upon a good speed, and keeping their Guns always ready pre-

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sented against them they met, they never durst fire at them: only three or four, having unadvisedly first discharged their Guns against the Enemy, and falling too much in the Reer of their Company, were cut off and lost. It is reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that night: yet whatever their success was this day, it was observed by some (at that time their Prisoners, and since released) that they seemed very pensive after they came to their Quarters, shewing no such signs of rejoicing, as they usually were wont to do in like case; whether for the loss of some of their own Company in that days enterprise (said to be an hundred and twenty), or whether it were the Devil in whom they trusted that deceived them, and to whom they made their address the day before, by sundry Conjurations of their *Powawes*; or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty sent upon their spirits, upon their execrable Blasphemies, which 'tis said they used in the torturing of some of their poor Captives (bidding *Jesus* come and deliver them out of their hands from death if he could) we leave as uncertain, though some have so reported; yet sure it is, that after this day they never prospered in any attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken, till they were in a manner all consumed. After this time, however they had braved it before, they seemed to apprehend that it was scarce feasible for them to withstand the power of the English, and therefore seemed more inclinable to a peace, by several overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during these Encounters they were willing to admit of some kind of Treaty with the English, about the releasing of sundry of their Captives, which they took at *Lancaster* in *February* last, and elsewhere: To that end, sundry attempts were made by help of several of the *Praying-Indians* (as they use to be called) about the redemption of some of the Women and Children, which were at that time in their possession, and by degrees something was effected that way; possibly their own present sufferings and wants that were upon them, might induce them thereunto: For by this time the Spring of the year came on, their provision was all spent, and they forced to live wholly upon Ground-nuts, and upon the flesh of the English creatures, both Horse and Neat-cattel, which they daily plundered. The Ground-nuts running up to seed in the Summer, began to grow so sticky, as they were scarce eatable; the flesh also of the English Cattel proving unwholsom for their Bodies, filling them with sundry diseases. One of them having eaten much Horse flesh, complained that he had before eaten Horse, and now Horse began to eat him, meaning some deadly disease growing upon his

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eating such rank flesh unwholsom for their Bodies, especially without salt, as their usual manner is. The Fishing-season also began now to come in, wherein they use to take abundance of all sorts, with which those great Rivers up the Country are abundantly stored: they use to take thereof, and drying it in the smoak, make provision thereof for the greatest part of the year; and if the War continued, they could not but see they should utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting season also were lost, they should be in great want of Summer-fruits, *sc.* Beans and Squashes (besides their corn) with which they were wont to live all the latter part of the Summer. Upon all considerations, they seemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a peace, though some were apt to think they would never have kept it further than would stand with their own advantage, and that their present desire thereof was only to gain time.

A person formerly acquainted with the *Indians* about *Lancaster*, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the Ministers Wife, taken Captive in *February* last from *Lancaster*; and through the favour of him who having the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum, which gave encouragement to the Council to send two Messengers on the like Errand the same week to procure the redemption of others, not without success: The former, *viz.* Mrs. Rowlandson being brought to *Boston* upon the Election day, *May 3d*, it was generally looked at as a smile of Providence, and doubtless was a return of Prayer, and answer of Faith, with which her Husband had been upheld, and supported from the day of her Captivity; his two children also were returned back not long after, more by the over-ruling hand of God (*that turns the Captivity of his people as the Streams of the South*; and sometimes inclining them to pity his Servants, that are of themselves more cruel than the Sea-monsters) than by any other contrivance of mans policy.

And yet notwithstanding motions of this nature about the redemption of some of our Prisoners still in their hands, there was no cessation of arms between us.

About this time Letters were sent down from *Connecticut Colony*, informing the General Court then assembled at *Boston*, that some of the *Mohawks* (a sort of fierce and salvage *Indians*, yet mortal Enemies to these we were at Wars withal) had fallen upon some of *Philips* Party, and destroyed many of them: likewise that many of them were destroyed by Fevers and Fluxes, with other distempers falling amongst them, which

which was some reviving to our hopes, that the foot of our Enemy should slide in due time, and that destruction was hastning upon them, though still they were permitted to do mischief in sundry particular places of the Country, which must be minded as we pass along.

Those *Indians* that were our professed Enemies, after they had been beaten out of the *Narhaganset Country*, *Febr. 1*, tarried a while at *Winimazeag*, a place two days journey north of *Quabaog*, where they divided themselves into two Companies: one of them tarried on that side the Country, the other made towards *Plimouth Colony*, taking *Medfield* in their vway, from whence as they marched along, they met vvith a notable repulse at *Bogiston*, a small Hamlet, or Company, or Farms not far from the said *Medfield*, where they attempted a Garison, but meeting vvith stout resistance, they left the enterprize, and kept on their vway toward *Plimouth Colony*, where they scattered themselves up and down, waiting for opportunities to spoil and destroy the English Plantations on that side of the Country.

Besides what is already mentioned, on *May 11*, A party of them assaulted the Town of *Plimouth*, burnt eleven Houses and five Barns belonging thereunto: on the other side, a small party of the English scouting about in pursuit of the *Indians*, fell upon a Party of them that lay waiting in ambush; but being discerned by an *Indian* in the Company of our men that gave timely notice, our Soldiers had an opportunity thereby to make the first shot, and thereby not only prevented a mischief to themselves, but killed also some of the Enemy (one of whom was observed to be of more note than his fellows by his attire) the rest fled away from them that pursued, though but a small company; so that there were daily reciprocal acts of hostility in those parts.

Within a few days after this, seven Houses and two Barns more were burnt by the Enemy in and about *Plimouth*: vvho did the like mischief about the same time to the remaining Houses of *Namasket* or *Middleborough*.

About this time, another sort of *Indians* that belonged to *Wamefit*, a place near *Chelmsford*, bordering upon *Merrimack* (vvho had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, cruel act of some of the English, about *Octob. 27*, and *November 4*, had fired upon them several Guns, both at *Chelmsford* and *Woburn*, to the killing of some, and wounding of others, upon suspition that the said *Indians* were guilty of burning a Barn, and Hay-stack not far off) suddenly turned our Enemies, after the Winter was over; having first vvithdrawn themselves from the place assigned them, and where they had been relieved all the Winter (some of them

after a former revolt) and took their opportunity to fire Mr. *Falconers* House in *Andover* Town early that Spring, & wounded one *Roger Marks*, and killed his Horse. Two more Houses about *Shawshin* beyond the said *Andover*, were burned about *March 10*. Also they killed a young man of the said Town, *April 8*, the son of *George Abbot*; And another son of his also was carried away the same day, who yet was returned some few months after, almost pined to death with hunger.

At the same time they killed some of their Cattel, cutting out only the tongues of some for haste, being shot at by several of the Inhabitants from their Garisons.

Mar. 10, At *Concord*, two men going for Hay, one of them was killed.

At *Chelmsford*, the said *Wamesit Indians*, about *March 18*, before, fell upon some Houses on the North side of the River, burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of *Edward Colburn*: the said *Colburn*, with *Samuel Varnham* his Neighbour, being pursued, as they passed over the River to look after their Cattel on that side of the River; and making several shots against them, who returned the like again upon the said *Indians* (judged to be about forty) what success they had upon the Enemy, was best known to themselves; but two of *Varnhams* sons were slain by the Enemies shot, before they could recover the other side of the River. *April 15*, also were 14 or 15 Houses burnt there.

Not long before this, *Feb. 1. 1675*, *Tho. Eames*, that kept a Farm at *Sudbury*, whose dwelling was three or four miles out of the Town, had his House assaulted and fired; his Wife killed, and his Children carried Captive among the *Indians*.

Also two men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Isaac* and *Jacob Shepard* by name, about the middle of *February*; and a young maid that was set to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 years of age, was carried Captive; who strangely escaped away upon an horse that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancaster* a little before. In the like strange manner did one of *Eames* his children escape away about *May 3*, last, travelling thirty miles alone in the Woods without any relief, till he came to an English Town. *Eames* his House was assaulted when himself was from home, by an *Indian* called *Netus* (not long after slain at *Marlborough*) which had been familiar with the English, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himself: They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the Farm, Corn, Hay and Cattel, besides the dwelling-house, with what was therein; it is probable those at *Concord* were killed by the same hands about a fortnight after.

Many such like remarkable instances of special Providences might be

be mentioned, if it were convenient to insert such particular passages into the general Narrative of the late troubles from our barbarous Enemies.

On *May 3*, a party of them killed a man at *Haverhill*, upon the edge of *Merrimack River*; and passing over the said River to *Bradford*, spoiled another Family; killing one *Thomas Kemball*, and carrying his Wife and Five Children Captive Forty miles up into the Woods; although it was questioned whether this last mischief were done by any of *Philip's* party, but rather by some that belonged to the Eastward Indians, of which there may be occasion (God willing) to speak more afterward.

For the suppressing of these insolencies, several Companies of fresh Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, were raised in the *Massachusetts*, by the Governor and Council of that Colony, and sent out to suppress the common Enemy; the Foot under the command of Capt. *Sill*, Capt. *Cutler*, Capt. *Holbrook*; the Horse under the Command of Capt. *Brattle*, Capt. *Prentice*, Capt. *Henchman*, Commanders in chief: these several Companies modelled as aforesaid, were sent out *April 27. 1676*, to range the Woods towards *Hassanamesit*.

Upon *May 6*, they met with a considerable party of the Enemy: they were first discovered by the *Natick* Scouts pursuing a Bear; and at the first not discerning that the *Natick* Indian Scouts belonged to our men, it gave some advantage to our Forces; our Horsemen falling upon them before they were all aware, killed and took of the Enemy about Sixteen, which they took notice of at the present, although it was confessed by the Enemy, that they lost Twenty that encounter. It was reported that the sounding of a Trumpet without order, did much hurt; but the Commander in chief affirmeth, that it was no disadvantage to the service in hand, it neither being heard by our own Foot, nor yet by the Enemy. If any error was committed by the English Companies, it was in that the Horse did not timely enough draw down from the top of the Hill, whereby they came to be discovered by the Enemy; who thereupon made the more haste to escape: However it was no small loss to the Enemy, some of the slain being known to be considerable persons; and it struck such a terror into them, that they never durst face our men afterwards; for although after our men returned to their Quarters at *Medfield*, they saw Two hundred fires in the night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any company of them: but the season proving rainy, hindred any further pursuit of them at that time. And soon after this, the Soldiers being
visited

visited with sickly distempers by reason of an Epidemical Cold at that time prevailing through the Country, they were for the present released for the recovery of their health, with intent to be called together again at a more convenient time; this was done *May* the tenth.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the Enemy that were discovered about *Rehoboth*, busie in fishing in a River thereabouts, Capt. *Brattle* was sent up about the 23^d of *May*, who with the help of some of the Inhabitants, killed eleven or twelve of them with the loss of one of our men only: Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite shoar, it was conceived a greater spoil might have been made amongst them.

But in the next place we must take notice of the proceedings of the Enemy about *Connecticut*: The greatest Body of them made towards *Plimouth Colony* early in the Spring as was said before, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remaining part of them did Westward.

Some scattering parties were skulking about *Springfield*, and those lower Towns, upon a small number of whom Capt. *Holioke* (newly chosen Captain of *Springfield* in the room of his father lately deceased) handfelled his office early in the Spring: for having notice of some of them in those woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve resolute young men, and waiting his opportunity, surprized them near the great River, so as Two or three of them were left dead upon the place, another mortally wounded, got on to an Island in the River, where it was concluded he took his last nights lodging. The other being sorely wounded, was taken alive, and brought home to *Springfield*, where he confessed many things to one of the Inhabitants that understood their language, owning the truth in many things against his own company, and soon after dyed of his wounds.

This was but a Preparative to an higher piece of service, which Capt. *Holioke* was soon after engaged in, and wherein he acquitted himself beyond expectation; and taking more pains then ordinary, in making his retreat, he gat a Surfeit that ended his days in *September* following about *Boston*.

About the beginning of *April* likewise some of the Inhabitants about *Hadly*, attending their tillage at *Hockanum*, within Three miles of the Town, and having a guard of Soldiers with them, yet Three of the company were casually slain by a party of the Enemy, that lay in wait for such an opportunity. One of them was Mr. *Goodman*, a Deacon

con of the Church, that went a little beyond the Command of the Soldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land : and two others that contrary to exprefs order, would venture upon the top of an high hill, near by, to take a needlefs and unseasonable view of the Country, were shot down by the Enemy before they could recover their *Corps du gard*.

But the great Company of the Enemy, that stayed on that side of the Country, and about *Watchusset Hills*, when the rest went towards *Plymouth*, though they had been disappointed in their planting, by the death of *Canonchet*, were loth to lose the advantage of the Fishing-season then coming in ; wherefore having seated themselves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that the English Forces were now drawn off from the lower Towns of *Hadley* and *Northhampton*, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their Cattel, and not fearing any assault from our Soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their Fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive by the Enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the Inhabitants of *Hadley*, *Hatfield* and *Northhampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their Cattel, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison Soldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal business to all the said *Indians*: yet was the victory obtained more considerable than at first was apprehended : For not having much above an Hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the night, *May*. 18, and came upon the said *Indians* a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a dead sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their Wigwams at home ; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new Milk and rost Beef, having lately driven away many of their milch Cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the *Indians* rendezvouze, they allighted off their Horses, and tyed them to some young Trees at a quarter of a miles distance, so marching up, they fired again into their very Wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightening others with the sudden Alarm of their Guns, made them run into the River, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the waters,

ters, some getting into Canoes, (small boats made of the barks of Birch Trees) which proved to them a *Charons* Boat, being sunk, or over-set, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world: others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great River, were espied by our men and killed with their Swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing Five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the *Indians* were first awakened with the thunder of their Guns, they cried out *Mohawks, Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back, spake sparingly of the number of the slain; some say there could not in reason be less then Two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that *Camizado*, some whereof were principal men, *Sachims*, and some of their best fighting men that were left, which made the victory more considerable than else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but their ruine immediately fell upon it. Yet such was the awful hand of Providence, in the close of this victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet, that it might well be called a costly victory to the Conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in it self.

The *Indians* that lay scattering on both sides of the River, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the Enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the Horses, others pursued them in the Reer, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired, missing after their return Thirty eight of their men: And if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Flank and Reer, at all times encouraging the Soldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. *Holioke's* Horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the *Indians*, just coming upon him; but discharging his Pistols upon one or two of them, whom he pre-

presently dispatched ; and another Friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the Soldiers without any further loss.

It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this Engagement, that one told above an hundred *Indians* left dead upon the place ; and another affirmed, that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the Falls, none of which were observed to get alive to shore, save one.

The loss that befell our men in the retreat, was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his charge any longer ; yet some say they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. *Turners* order.

It is said also by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the Rear of the English, through haste missed their way, and were never heard of again ; and without doubt fell into the *Indians* hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured.

About seven days after this, they were minded to try the chance of War again, and see if they could not recover their loss, by returning the like upon the English : For,

May 30, A great number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired about twelve Houses and Barns without the Fortification of the Town, driving away multitudes of their Cattel, and their Sheep, spreading themselves in the Meadow near the Town : which Bravado so raised the courage of their Neighbours at *Hadly*, that twenty five resolute young men ventured over the River, to relieve *Hatfield* in this distress, vho charged the enemy with such an undaunted courage and resolution (*Audaces fortuna juvat*) that they beat down five or six at the first shot they made ; so making way through the thickest of their Enemies that lay ready to take aim at them behind every Tree as they passed by ; yet they escaped all their shot till they came within a little of the Town they came to relieve, where they lost five of their twenty five.

The Enemy was so amazed at the resolution of our men, being but so small an handful, that they fled immediately from the Town ; having lost twenty five of their men in the Enterprize.

The Council of the *Massachusetts*, gathering by these proceedings of the *Indians*, that their desire of peace was only to gain time, Ordered that the forces raised before Apr. 27, and for a time released, should be hastned out again to range the Woods towards *Hadly*, and those parts ; made an agreement with *Hartford Colony*, to send Forces from thence to meet them about *Brookfield*, and so to scour along on both sides *Connecticut River*, to distress the Enemy what they could, and keep them from fish-

ing in those waters, their hope of planting being now almost over.

To this end about *May 30. 1676*, the Forces under Capt. *Henchman* were called together again, and sent to *Brookefield* to meet with those expected from *Hartford Colony*: In the way, ours by the direction of *Tom Doubler* (a *Natick Indian*, who was a little before employed in the redemption of Captives) following tracts of *Indians*, came upon a party of the Enemy, fishing in *Weshacom Ponds* toward *Lancaster*, of whom they killed 7, and took 29, most women and children; yet belonging to considerable Persons, it made the success the more to be valued. Our Forces being by this means retarded, could not meet with those of *Connecticut* at *Brookefield*; but followed them the week after, having first returned from *Weshacom* to *Marlborough* to supply themselves with ammunition, and so marched directly towards *Hadly*, where they met with *Connecticut Forces*; and from thence according to mutual agreement, ours marched on the east-side of the River, and *Connecticut Forces* on the West, up toward *Squakheag*, coming to *Deerfield*, and the great Falls thereabouts, they sent up their Scouts; but not hearing of the Enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good capacity to have gone further if there had been occasion, by reason of a tedious storm of Rain, which occasioned much damage in their Ammunition and Provision. While our Forces lay about *Deerfield*, some of our Soldiers ranging, lighted upon the Body of Capt. *Turner* about *Greens River*, in passing of which stream he was supposed to have received his mortal wounds.

While our Forces continued thereabouts, they did the Enemy some little spoil in seizing much of their Fish, and goods stollen from the English, and hid in their barns under ground; conjecturing also that they found 4 or 5 places vvhhere some of the English had been tortured to death by cruel burning, after they had been fastned between stakes set in the ground: but not meeting with any of the Enemy, they all hastned homewards, conceiving that having been forced from their Quarters in those parts, they were drawn down lower towards the English Plantations eastward, viz. *Plimouth* and the *Massachusetts*. What success Capt. *Henchman's* Forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they observed of the motion of the *Indians*, take in the words of his own Letter, *June 30*---Our Scouts brought intelligence, that all the *Indians* were in a continual motion, some toward *Narhaganset*, others toward *Watchuset*, shifting gradually, and taking up each others Quarters, and lay not above a night in a place. They 27 ditto, brought in two *Squaws*, a boy and a girl, giving account of five slain. Yesterday, they brought in an old fellow brother to a *Sachim*, six *Squaws* and children, having killed five men, and wounded others,

thers, if not killed them, as they supposed by the blood found in the way, and an Hat shot through. These, and the other inform, that Philip and the Narragansets were gone several days before to their own places, Philips purpose being to do what mischief he could to the English. By advice, I drew out a commanded Party under the conduct of Capt. Sill, viz. sixteen Files of English, all my Troop, and the Indians, excepting one File, being all we could make provision for: for what with the falling short of the Bread promised us, and a great deal of that we had proving mouldy, the rest of the Forces had but one Basket a man to bring them to this place: This party were ordered toward Watchusset, and so to Nashaway and the Washakem Ponds, where we have notice Indians were, and so to return unto this place: where by your Honours Letter that came to me yesterday morning, I understood that provision was ordered for us; and which we found to our great relief, last night, coming hither weary and hungry. The commanded Party we left at Quonquomon, where they intended to stay a while for the last Scouts we sent out: Eleven Prisoners we had in all, two of the oldest by counsel we put to death, the other nine the Commissary is ordered to convey to Boston, with the Baggage, Horses, and some of their attendants not fit for the Service.

Daniel Henchman.

It appears plainly by the contents of the said Letter, as well as by many other testimonies, that about this time the *Indians* our Enemies, who hitherto had been linked together as Brethren in iniquity and cruelty, were now strangely divided and separated the one from the other: some impute it to an assault made upon them by the *Mohawkes*, who falling upon *Philip* with the Inland-Indians, slew about fifty of them: whereupon they of *Philips* Company resolved to return to their own Country, and do what mischief they could to the English thereabouts: This was reported by an *Indian* brought to *Scaconk*, June 29. 1676, taken at *Providence*. Others are ready to think, that it was upon some quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evil spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, the more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the time of vengeance was come, when they shall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties: for now is the snare hastning upon them, wherein they shall be hampered in their own devices, so to be taken and destroyed: it cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable Providence, that Capt. *Henchman* in his late expedition to *Hadly*, killed and took about eighty four of the Enemy, without the loss of any one of his own men: the

like favourable success hapned to Major *Talcot*, in his passage from *Norwich* to *Quabaog*, as was said before, and soon after his return.

But by that time our Forces were returned home as far as *Sudbury*, they were ordered upon the solicitation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, two Companies of them at least, to march away immediately to *Dedham*, and so to *Seaconk* or *Rehoboth*, to join with Major *Bradford* in the pursuit of *Philip*, who as it seems with many hundreds of his barbarous Followers were fallen upon the English Plantations thereabouts, and whither also a little before, Capt. *Brattle* with a Troop of Horse, and Capt. *Mosely* with a Foot-Company were sent up from *Boston* to pursue after them, now flocking in great numbers into those Woods; there was at this time no small hope of surprizing *Philip*: several reports being brought that he was seen in this and that place, not with above twenty or thirty men attending on him: but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that mischief he was like to be suffered to do: For upon *July 1st*, 1676, a party of his *Indians* committed an horrid and barbarous Murder upon Mr. *Hezekiah Willer* in *Swanzy*, an hopeful young Gentleman as any in those parts; they used frequently to keep a Sentinel on the top of their House, from a Watch-house built thereon, whence they could discover any *Indians* before they came near the House; but not hearing of the Enemy in those parts for a considerable time, that necessary piece of circumspection was omitted that day, whereby that deserving person was betrayed into their cruel hands: for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own doors, within sight of his House, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which yet was soon after recovered) leaving the Trunk of his body behind, as a sad monument of their inhumane cruelty; the same *Indians*, not being above thirty in number, took away a *Negro* belonging to the same Family, who being faithful to his Masters, and the Countries interest, ventured his life to make his escape, which was the preservation of many others; for the said *Negro* being a little acquainted with their Language, discovered to the English after his escape, *Philip's* purpose to seize such and such places: in the first place to assault *Taunton*, which in probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purposes had not so wonderfully been made known beforehand. The said *Negro* affirmed, that there was near a thousand of them: for he observed, that although they had killed twenty head of Neat Cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the

next

next day at Eight of the Clock in the morning. By this special Providence the Enemy was defeated of their purpose, and never after had any opportunity of doing any considerable damage to the English in that part of the Country. So as after this day we may truly date the time of our Deliverance, and beginning of Revenges upon the Enemy : Now is their own turn come, when it shall be done unto them, as they have served us : They that before led others into Captivity, must themselves henceforth go into Captivity. And they that killed with the Sword, must themselves be killed with the Sword, as in the Sequel of the Narrative will abundantly be manifest ; The History of which, before we shall any farther pursue, we must a little while wait upon our Friends, (those Forces sent from *Connecticut*) in their return back into their own Colony, which before it be done, some things should be premised concerning the occasion of their coming, and the Success that did attend them in their march thither.

Our Friends and Brethren of that Colony, although they had never actually felt half of those miseries that befell the people of the other two, yet never denied their Assistance to the suppressing of the common Enemy, yea, sometimes they did afford it before it was expressly desired ; according to the Tenor of the Articles of Confederation, and Rules of common prudence; considering that if the fire of this War were not timely extinguished, it would endanger their own *Fabrick*: Therefore according to Agreement, the Council of that Colony ordered their successful Commander Major *Talcot* to meet with our Forces at *Brookfield*, or *Quabaog* in order to the pursuing of the Enemy in those parts: In the way as they were from *Norwich* marching thither, Divine Providence so far smiled upon the Enterprize, as to give them an opportunity to surprize Fifty one of the Enemy, of whom Nineteen were slain, without the loss of any one of their own Company, which could not but much enhance the price of the victory to the Conquerors.

The like success had their Friends which they left behind (the Volunteers gathered out of the Three Towns by the Sea side, *New London*, *Stonington*, and *Norwich*) and who were some of them released by Major *Talcot*, when he first began his March, that they might the better in the absence of the Army, guard their own Towns : for before the return of the Forces under Major *Talcot*, to that side of the Country, they had made two Expeditions against their Enemies the *Narragansets*, that were sculking up and down on that side of the Country ; In one of which they killed and took above Thirty, the most of which being men, are said to have been slain by them.

In the other about Forty five, the most of which probably were women and Children, but being all young Serpents of the same brood, the subduing or taking so many, ought to be acknowledged as another signal victory, and pledge of Divine favour to the English. But to return, it was not without the special direction of Providence that those *Hartford* Forces were sent to those Western Towns a week before those of the *Massachusetts* could get thither; for otherwise one or more of those Towns might have been lost; seeing that on the Twelfth of *June*, soon after, if not the next day, after they arrived there, the Enemy, as if resolved to try the utmost of their power, violently assaulted the Town of *Hadly*, with a body of about Seven hundred men, at five or six in the morning, laying an Ambush at one end of the Town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other: But the *Connecticut* Forces being at that time quartered in the Towns thereabouts, (who were English, and friendly *Indians*, *Pequods*, and *Mohegins*, about Five hundred in all) that were ready at hand, besides these that had been quartered there ever since *March*, (who had been left by Major *Savage* when he left those parts, under the Command and Charge of Captain *Turner*, slain at the great Falls, as is noted before, but since commanded by Captain *Swain*). These by their joyned and ready resistance, wherein the Fence of Pallizadoes surrounding the Town, was no little advantage, gave the *Indians* such a smart Repulse, that they found the place too hot for them to abide it. For the Soldiers or Towns-men within, firing a piece of Ordnance, it so affrighted the Salvages, or a party of them, against whom it was discharged, that although they had just before surprized, and possessed an House at the North end of the Town, if Information mistake not, yet they instantly fled, leaving some of their dead upon the place; Nor did they any considerable mischief with all their numbers, save firing a Barn about that end of the Town, and slaying Two or three of the Soldiers, or too daring Inhabitants, who would against express order adventure to go without the Fortification.

It was accounted by some, that were present near the time of that Assault, a great over-sight, that having so fair an opportunity to chase the Enemy upon so considerable advantage, it was let slip, and not improved: For *Connecticut* Soldiers being all, or most of them furnished with Horses, they might have been soon overtaken, and many of them destroyed; but God hid it from their eyes: The Commander in chief, it is said, quartered at one of the Towns on the West side of the River, and did not apprehend the advantage, till the Season was over. Nor was any such thing as an Assault expected from the Enemy, so early in the morning;

morning; it being a general observation heretofore, that they seldom, or never used to make any Attempt in the night time; part of which could not but be improved in way of preparation for such a design.

But the Lord of Hosts who is wise in Counsel, and wonderful in working, would find some other way to destroy our Enemies, wherein the hand of his Providence, should more remarkably be seen, that so no flesh should glory in its own wisdom or strength, but that Salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The rest of this Month was spent without any other matter of moment happening therein.

The Governor and Council of the *Massachusetts*, taking into serious consideration, the many merciful Occurrents that had been returned upon us, notwithstanding the mixing of many dispensations of a contrary nature, accounted themselves bound to make some publick acknowledgment thereof, to him whose Name alone is worthy to be praised. The 29th of that Month of *June*, was set apart as a day of publick Thanksgiving to God, who had remembred his people thus in their low Estate. And that matter of Thanksgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were most of our English Captives brought back from the *Indians*, and many more soon after, to the number of Sixteen, whose mouths might then well be filled with Laughter, and their Tongues with singing, both of themselves, and all that were any ways concerned in their welfare.

And as this day appointed for solemn and publick Thanksgiving, was ushered in by several special mercies, so also was it followed with many remarkable benefits.

For besides the preserving the Town of *Northampton*, *March* the 14th, and *Hadly*, *June* the 12th, by the opportune sending of our Forces the very night before they were Assaulted: The saving the people of *Marlborough* from being cut off, was very observable, when *Mr. Graves* by his occasional going from the Sermon, being forced thereunto by the extremity of the Tooth-Ach, *March* 26, discovered the *Indians* ready to Assault the Town, and the people might have been cut off, had not that Accident Intervened. It is certain, that after the end of this Month, the power of the Enemy began every where to fail; for the Body of the Enemy, that had lurked about *Connecticut* River all this Spring, being visited with sundry diseases, disappointed of their fishing and put by their planting, began to fall at variance amongst themselves; the *Hadly* and *Pocumtuck* *Indians* quarrelling with *Philip* for fetching all this mischief about, and occasioning the English and them to fall out, with whom they had always good correspondence, and lived lovingly together,

together, but now they were like to be ruined by the War. This quarrel proceeded to that height, that from that time forward, those several *Indians* that had for so long time been combined together, resolved now to part, and every one to shift for themselves, and return to their own homes: *Philip* to *Mount-hope*, and the *Narhagansets* to their own Country again: the *Nipnets* and the *River-Indians*, bending their course some Westward, others Northward towards *Pennicook* upon *Merrimack*, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true state of the Case with the *Indians* which were our Enemies: for the next News we heard of *Philip*, was, that he was gotten back to *Mount-Hope*, now like to become *Mount-Misery* unto him, and his Vagabond Crew, and that his Friends and Allies, that had hitherto stood as Neuters, waiting only which way the Scale of Success and Victory would turn, began now to sue for mercy at the hands of the English: The *Massachusetts* Government having understood something of this nature, put forth a *Declaration*, that whatsoever *Indians* should within Fourteen days next ensuing come in to the English, might hope for mercy.

Amongst sundry that came in, there was one named *James* the Printer, the Superadded Title distinguishing him from others of that name: who being a notorious Apostate, that had learned so much of the English, as not only to read and write, but had attained likewise some skill in Printing, and might have attained more, (had he not like a false Villain ran away from his Master before his time was out) he having seen and read the said *Declaration* of the English, did venture himself upon the Faith thereof, and came to sue for his Life; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more *Indians* had dyed since this War began of diseases (such as at other times they used not to be acquainted withal) than by the Sword of the English.

Not long after many of them came and offered themselves, to the number of near Two hundred, Men, Women, and Children; and many more would have done the like, but their *Consciousness* of guilt made them conclude, that their cruelties and barbarous Murthers could never be forgiven by the English.

But what *Occurrents* happened next shall be declared in their order.

About the end of *June* News was brought to *Boston*, that *Philip* with a small party of his men, lurked about *Swanzy* or *Rehoboth*, & that he might easily be taken, an *Indian* offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon Soldiers was instantly sent away from *Boston*, who spent some time in searching all the woods on that side the Country, but

but at last were forced to return, having missed of what they aimed at.

Plimouth Colony likewise sent out Soldiers upon the same account under Major *Bradford*, who by the help of some *Indians* of *Cape Cod*, always true to the English interest, not only escaped an Ambush laid for them, whereby most of them might have been cut off, but slew many of those that laid wait for them, without any loss to themselves: yea further, a Squaw Sachim of *Sakonnet*, one of *Philips* Allies, having first sent three Messengers to the Governour of *Plimouth* to sue for life and liberty, promising submission to their Government on that condition; but understanding the *Plimouth Forces* were abroad, before her Messengers were returned, she with her People, about ninety in number, rendred themselves up to Major *Bradford*, so that above one hundred and ten were killed, and taken upon composition that day.

The like success had the *Connecticut Forces* sent into the *Narhaganset* Country, under the Conduct of the wonderful successful Major *Talcot*, Capt. *George Denison*, Capt. *Newbery*, with other worthy Commanders of the said Forces; for about the second of *July*, 1676, as the said Commanders with the Forces under them were pursuing the Enemy in and about the *Narhaganset* Country toward *Mount-hope*, hearing that *Philip* with his black Regiment of *Wompanoogs* was thereabouts, their *Indian* Scouts from the top of an Hill discovered a great number of the Enemy that had newly pitched their station within the semicircle of a Swamp. The English Soldiers were all mounted on Horseback, to the number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the *Indians* to be ready at the top of the Hill upon a signal given to run down amain upon the Enemy, securely lodged in the hollow of the Swamp just opposite against them, while their Horsemen were divided into two squadrons to ride round the Hill, so that at the same instant, both the Horsemen upon the two wings, and the *Indians* a-foot rushing down suddenly upon the Enemy, put them to an horrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, some getting into the Swamp, the rest that were prevented by the Horsemen, and the friendly *Indians* coming so suddenly upon them, were all taken prisoners; Capt. *Newbery* with his Troop alighting from their Horses, ran into the Swamp after them, where they killed at least an hundred, as was judged by some then present; taking also many prisoners out of those habitations of darkness, the Enemy scarce daring to make any resistance; for none of the English, and but one or two of the *Mohegins* and *Pequods* were hurt in that assault: Yet it was affirmed by a Captain present on the place, that with those they killed and took at *Warwick-neck*, in their return home (which were not much above sixty) they

they killed and took of the Enemy at that time above three hundred young and old. At the same time was taken the old Squaw of *Narhaganset*, commonly called *the old Queen*.

They were necessitated with this booty to return homewards to gratifie the *Mohegin* and *Pequod Indians* that accompanied them, who had done them very good service in the pursuit, having lost one or two of their men in the Chase: But their return home, was, as it proved in the issue, more beneficial than their longer stay might have been, to have made a fruitless pursuit after *Philip* (whose time was not yet come, although hastning apace); for in their return they met sixty of the Enemy, all of them they slew and took, so as their Swords returned not empty.

Within a few days after, two hundred of the Enemy within *Plimouth* Jurisdiction being distressed with Famine, and fear of danger, came and submitted themselves to the Governour there: But three of the company were presently detected of a cruel murder, and villanous assault upon one Mr. *Clarkes* house of *Plimouth*, by a well-minded Squaw that was among them. (hoping that possibly such a discovery would be pleasing to the English) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign punishment, which the rest that surrendred themselves were no whit troubled at, such kind of Villains being always exempted from all acts of favour and mercy. Those two hundred that had newly surrendred themselves, that they might give full proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a Party of the English to a place not far off, where twenty more of the Enemy might be surprized, amongst whom also was one, known to be a bloody murderer of an English man that year before; accordingly eight English men took fourteen of the said *Indians*, and the next day brought in all the aforesaid twenty of the Enemy with the said murderer; who was presently executed, the rest being accepted into favour.

It is affirmed likewise, that five or six Sachims of *Cape Cod*, towards the Eastern part of it, came with three hundred *Indians* to make peace with the English, on the 6th of July; one of the said Sachims earnestly desiring the English, that none of them might be suffered to sell any strong Liquors to the *Indians*, the trading of which, possibly hath had no small influence into the present mischiefs.

The next day, July the 7th, a small party of ours, with a few friendly or Christian *Indians* with them, killed and took seven of the Enemy in the Woods not far from *Dedham*, one of which was a *Narhaganset* Sachim: who either himself, informed, or by some other at that time, certain intelligence was brought to *Boston*, that some of our Enemy *Indians* were gotten to *Albany*, informing the people there, that they might the

more

more easily get powder and Ammunition, that the English and they were now at peace: One of the said *Indians* was the Sachim of *Springfield*, a bloody and deceitful Villain; It is hoped that he is now taken in the share from whence he shall never be suffered to escape.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruin hastned apace, yet that he might in imitation of him that stirred up all this mischief, express the more wrath, because he knew his time was but short, intended if possible, to destroy one Town more of the English before his turn came; wherefore *July 11*, with all the Forces he could get, or that he had left, he intended to set upon *Taunton*, having as was conceived, many hundreds in his company; but his design being strangely discovered by a *Negro*, whom they had taken captive a little before, that having lived near the *Indians* before, understood much of their Language, who making his escape from them, acquainted the Inhabitants with the plot; who having timely notice, furnished themselves with Soldiers, whereby they were able to repulse the Enemy upon the first approach: so as he only fired two Houses, and then fled away; *Except the Lord keepeth the City, the Watchmen watcheth but in vain.*

The 22d of this month of *July*, as is hinted before, the Companies sent from *Concord*, *May 30*, up towards *Hadly*, having spent much time and pains in pursuit of *Philip* all the Country over (whom they could not yet overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious Marches through the desert Woods: before they returned home, some of them were sent toward *Mount-hope*, yet was their labour well improved, and followed with good success at the last: for, in ranging those Woods in *Plimouth Colony*, they killed and took, by the help of Capt. *Mosely's* Company, and Capt. *Brattles* Troop joyning with Major *Bradford's* Company of *Plimouth Colony*, an hundred and fifty *Indians*, with the loss of never an English man.

It was feared that *Philip* and his Company would have returned into the *Nipnet-Country*; to prevent which, several Horsemen were sent to guard the passage; but he lurked about his own Country in Swamps and other secret places, where he was yet hid from the sight of the English, although many times they hapned to lodg very near him, insomuch as an *Indian* Captive promised in two hours time to bring our Soldiers to the very place where he was; but they not being able to pass the nearest vway, came a little too late; for they being so hotly pursued, hastned away, leaving much of their treasure behind them, their Kettles boiling over the fire, their dead unburied, and twenty of their party were overtaken, that fell into the English hands: *Philip* himself, and some

few of his stragling followers, make their escape by a Raft over an arm of the Sea, into another Neck of Land on *Pocasset* side, not daring to trust himself any longer in *Metapoyset* Woods, so full of our English Soldiers, as well those of *Plimouth*, as of the *Massachusetts Colony*, who almost every day meeting with some of his party, much lessened his number. Capt. *Church*, that active and unwearied Commander of *Plimouth Colony*, was at this time as well as long before, out upon the chase with but eighteen English, and twenty two *Indians* that were friends; had four several Engagements with *Philips* party, wherein he spoiled seventy six of the Enemy, without the loss of one of his own men. In several of these skirmishes, those *Indians* that upon submission had their lives given them, have done notable service in hunting out the Enemy in all their lurking places.

At another time they took *Philips Squaw*, and one of his chief Councillors; and about that same time, another Sachim about *Pocasset*, with forty *Indians*, submitted himself to the Government of *Plimouth*, on promise of life and liberty.

It seemed that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time also for the destruction of our Enemies: for the last week in *July*, the *Massachusetts* understanding that some *Indians* were seen roving up and down the Woods about *Dedham*, almost starved for want of Victuals, sent a small Company of twenty six Soldiers, with about nine or ten Christian *Indians*, who pursued and took fifty of the Enemy, without any loss to the English; at which time also, a good quantity of *Wampumpeag* and powder was taken from the Enemy. That which increased this Victory was the slaughter of *Pomham*, who was one of the stoutest and most valiant Sachims that belonged to the *Narhagansets*; whose courage and strength was so great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight, so as himself could not stand: yet catching hold of an English-man that by accident came near him, had done him a mischief, if he had not been presently rescued by one of his Fellows. Amongst the rest of the Captives at that time, was one of the said *Pumham's* sons, a very likely youth, and one whose countenance would have bespoke favour for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an *Indian* as his Father was.

These successes being daily bruited abroad among the *Indians*, put many of them into a trembling condition, not knowing well how to dispose of themselves: some that had been less active in these Tragedies, and were rather led by others, than any wise inclined to mischief themselves, adventured to submit themselves, of which number was one of

Nipnet Sachims, called *Sagamore John*, who July 27, came to surrender himself to the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* at *Boston*, bringing along with him One hundred and eighty of the Enemy *Indians*. This *John* that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose friendship he was now willing to seek after, did by a wile get into his hands one *Matoonas*, an old malicious Villain, who was the first that did any mischief within the *Massachusetts Colony*, July 14. 1675, bearing an old grudge against them as is thought, for justice that was done upon one of his Sons, 1671, whose Head ever since stands upon a Pole near the Gibbet where he was hanged up: the bringing in of this malicious Caitiff, was an hopeful presage, that it would not be long before *Philip* himself, the grand Villain, would in like manner receive a just reward of his wickedness and Murders.

Sagamore John, that came in July 27, affirmed, that he had never intended any mischief to the English at *Brookfield* the last year (near which Village it seems his place was) but that *Philip* coming over-night amongst them, he was forced, for fear of his own life, to joyn with them against the English. *Matoonas* also, when he was brought before the Council, and asked what he had to say for himself, confessed that he had rightly deserved Death, and could expect no other; adding withal, that if he had followed their Counsel he had not come to this: for he had often seemed to favour the *Praying Indians*, and the Christian Religion, but like *Simon Magus*, by his after practise, discovered quickly, that he had no part nor portion in that matter.

About this time several parties of English, within *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, were willing to have a hand in so good a matter, as catching of *Philip* would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to hasten his fall. Amongst others a small party, July 31, went out of *Bridgewater* upon discovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a Company of *Indians* where *Philip* was; they came up with them, and killed some of his special Friends; *Philip* himself was next to his Uncle, that was shot down, and had the Soldier had his choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right Bird, he might as well have taken him as his Uncle; but 'tis said that he had newly cut off his Hair, that he might not be known: the party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep altogether close in the Reer, that cunning Fox escaped away through the Bushes undiscerned in the Reer of the English: that which was most remarkable in this design, was that trembling fear discerned to be upon the *Indians* at this time, insomuch that one of them having a Gun in his hand

hand well laden, yet was not able to shoot it off, but suffered an English Soldier to come close up to his breast, and so shot him down, the other not being able to make any resistance: nor was any of the English hurt at this time.

The like terror was seen in others at that time: for within two days after, Capt. *Church*, the terror of the *Indians* in *Plimouth* Colony, marching in pursuit of *Philip*, with but Thirty English-men, and Twenty reconciled *Indians*, took Twenty three of the Enemy, and the next day following them by their Tracks, fell upon their head-quarters, and killed and took about an hundred and thirty of them, but with the loss of one English man: in this engagement God did appear in a more than ordinary manner to fight for the English: for the *Indians* by their number, and other advantages of the place, were so conveniently provided, that they might have made the first shot at the English, and done them much damage; but one of their own Country-men in Capt. *Church's* Company, spying them, called aloud unto them in their own Language, telling them, *that if they shot a Gun, they were all dead men*; with which they were so amazed, that they durst not once offer to fire at the English, which made the victory the more remarkable: *Philip* made a very narrow escape at that time, being forced to leave his Treasures, his beloved Wife and only Son, to the mercy of the English, *Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life*: His ruine being thus gradually carried on, his misery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himself made acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the Captivity of his Children, loss of his Friends, slaughter of his Subjects, bereavement of all Family-Relations, and being stript of all outward Comforts, before his own life should be taken away. Such Sentence sometime passed upon *Cain*, made him cry out, *that his punishment was greater than he could bear*.

This bloody wretch hath one week or two more to live, an object of pity, but a spectacle of Divine vengeance; his own Followers beginning now to plot against his life, to make the better terms for their own; as they did also seek to betray *Squaw Sachim* of *Pocasset*, *Philip's* near Kins-woman and Confederate. For,

August 6. An *Indian* willing to shift for himself, fled to *Taunton*, offering to lead any of the English that would follow him, to a party of *Indians*, which they might easily apprehend; which Twenty attempted, and accordingly seized the whole Company, to the number of twenty six; all but that *Squaw Sachim* her self, who intending to make an escape from the danger, attempted to get over a River, or arm of the Sea near

by,

by, upon a Raft or some pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and spent with swimming, or starved with cold and hunger, she was found stark naked in *Metapoiset*, not far from the water-side; which made some think, that she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched life just in that place where the year before she had helped *Philip* to make his escape: her head being cut off and set upon a Pole in *Taunton*, was known by some *Indians* then Prisoners, which set them into an horrid Lamentation; but such was the righteous hand of God, in bringing at the last that mischief upon themselves, which they had without cause thus long acted against others.

Philip, like a Salvage and wild Beast, having been hunted by the English Forces through the Woods, above an hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own Den, upon *Mount-hope*, where retiring himself, with a few of his best Friends into a Swamp, which proved but a Prison to keep him fast, till the Messengers of death came by Divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a Peace, insomuch as he caused one of his Confederates to be killed, for propounding an expedient of peace; which so provoked some of his Company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them (being near of kin to him that was killed) fled to Road-Island, (whither, that active Champion Capt. *Church* was newly retired, to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week) informing them that *Philip* was fled to a Swamp in *Mount hope*, whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcom news, and the best Cordial for such Martial Spirits: whereupon he immediately, with a small Company of men, part English and part *Indians*, began another March, which shall prove fatal to *Philip*, and end that controversie betwixt the English and him: for coming very early to the side of the Swamp, his Soldiers began presently to surround it, and whether the Devil appeared to him in a Dream that night, as he did unto *Saul*, foreboding his Tragical end (it matters not); as he intended to make his escape out of the Swamp, he was shot through the Heart by an *Indian* of his own Nation, as is said, that had all this while kept himself in a neutrality until this time, but novv had the casting-vote in his pover, by vvhich he determined the quarrel that had held so long in suspense; in him is fulfilled vvhat vv as said in the Prophet, *Wo to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled, and dealest treacherously*

treacherously and they dealt not treacherously with thee; when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled: and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee, Isa. 33. 1.

With *Philip* at this time fell five of his truest Followers, of whom one was said to be the Son of his chief Captain, that had shot the first Gun at the English the year before. This was done *August* 12. 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favour to the Colony of *Plimouth*, who had for their former successes, appointed the 17th day of *August* following, to be kept as a day of solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God. There having been so strange a turn of providence observed in the late successes obtained in and about *Plimouth* Colony, it may not be amiss here to enquire into the occasions that did lead thereunto, and also into the progress and continuance thereof, after the slaughter of *Philip* that grand Rebel.

In the precedent Narration frequent mention hath been made of one Capt. *Church*, whom God hath made an instrument of signal Victories over the *Indians* in that Colony, and of great advantage in that respect to that whole Jurisdiction. It hapned that the said Capt. *Church* some time in *June* last, viz. of this present year, 1676, passing over in a Canoo, from *Pocasset* to *Road-Island*, as he used frequently to do (having had much employment upon the said Neck of Land, so called) several *Indians* whom he had known before at *Lakenham* (a Village near *Pocasset*) beckoned to him, as if they had a mind to speak with him; he having had so much experience as well as others of their Treachery, was not willing to adventure presently to come near them; but when they seemed to urge very much, and made many signs to him, and at last laid down their Guns in his sight, he began to think with himself, there might be something in the matter more than ordinary, therefore resolved to go a little nearer to the shore, and then he perceived they had a great mind to speak with him, using much importunity for that end, inasmuch as he ventured to go a shore amongst them, having but one English-man, and two *Indians* with him; he directed them to keep off the Canoo, while he discoursed with the *Indians* ashore: as soon as ever he came amongst them, they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought so long by *Philip's* instigation, but they could not tell for what end, and therefore were resolved they would fight no longer; and that which they desired of him, only was, that he would make way for them to the Governour, that they may live quietly amongst the English, as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their Arms, or would go out with them, if he pleased to accept of them, and fight for him:

to that end they desired a time to parly with him further about that business, at what time and place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two days after at *Saconet*, a place up higher upon the said neck, about twelve a clock; accordingly he came to the said place, and found the same *Indians*, with some others, and their *Sunke Squaw*, or chief Woman of that *Indian* Plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the War, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the War; For said he upon this *Pocasset*, July 7, 1675, you first fought with some of *Road-Island*, whereof one was my own servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at my self and Company, before ever we medled with you: They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace, which they seemed very desirous to obtain upon any equal terms, as was said before.

There were about fifteen of the *Indians* present, beside their *Sunke Squaw* (which is with us their Governess or Lady); in conclusion they engaged for ever after to leave *Philip*, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them with the Governour.

It is here to be minded, that these were not properly *Philip's Indians*, but belonged to the *Sakonnet Squaw*, who was nearly related to *Philip*, and her Subjects had hitherto fought in *Philip's* Quarrel, till they saw nothing but misery and mischief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About twenty or thirty of these *Sakonnet Indians* have constantly gone out with Capt. *Church* ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every enterprise they have gone about; nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other *Indians*; And it is said that this act of these *Indians* broke *Philip's* heart as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never joyed after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of these *Indians* under Capt. *Churches* Command: For at the swamp when *Philip* was slain, Capt. *Church* appointed an English-man and an *Indian* to stand at such a place of the swamp, where it hapned that *Philip* was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy, the English-mans Gun would not fire, the *Indian* having an old Musket with a large

touch-hole, it took fire the more readily, with which *Philip* was dispatched, the bullet passing directly through his heart, where *Joab* thrust his darts into rebellious *Abjalom*.

Thus did Divine vengeance retalliate upon this notorious Traitor, that had against his League and Covenant risen up against the Government of *Plimouth*, to raise up against him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the English: The *Indian* that did this execution was called *Alderman* of *Sakonet* that had never done any act of hostility against the English.

By these passages it is manifest, that as *the hearts of all are in the hand of God. so he turns them as he pleases*, either to favour his people, or to hate and deal subtilly with his Servants, as seems good to him.

Since this engagement with the *Sakonet Indians*, to leave *Philip*, and to go out with *Capt. Church*, it is credibly affirmed; that such hath been their success, that since *June* aforesaid, to the end of *October* next following, there have been seven hundred *Indians* subdued, either by killing or taking Captive, by the means of *Capt. Church* and his Company, part *Indians*, and part English, besides three hundred that have come in voluntarily to submit themselves to the Government of *Plimouth*.

It appears thus by the sequel of things, that after the Lord hath accomplished his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemies to an account, and punish them for the pride of their hearts, and for all their treachery and cruelty against his Servants.

Philip's Captains have run the same fate with himself, some before and some after his own Fall.

In *June* last one *Tiasq* a great Captain of his, his Wife and Child, or Children being taken, though he escaped himself at first, yet came since and surrendered himself.

The next noted Captain of *Philip's Indians* that was brought in after *Philip's* death, was one called *Tespiquin*, a notorious Villain, next to *Philip*, he was called the black *Sachems* son: It was this *Tespiquin* that burnt so many houses in *Plimouth* lately. *Capt. Church* with his Company were in pursuit of him in *September* last, two days before they could get near him; at the last on the third day they found the track made by the said *Tespiquin's* party, as they went to fetch apples from the English Orchards: This was something a blind track, therefore they were forced to take up their quarters that night without discovering any place of their Rendezvous. The next morning about nine of the Clock, they came to their first Rendezvous, from which they were newly gone: at one a Clock they came to the second, and missing them

them there, they soon after came to the third track, wherein after they had marched a while, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a child which they heard: the place was near *Lakenham* upon *Pocasset* neck, so full of bushes that a man could not see a rod before him: Captain *Church* ordered his men to march up together in one rank, because he discovered the *Indians* were laid in one Range by several fires, so that by that time they all came up into an even rank pretty near together, within a few yards of them, as he had appointed, they all suddenly rushed altogether in upon them, and caught hold of them, not suffering any to escape; there being about fifty of them in all: *Tespequin's* Wife and Children were there, but himself was absent, as also one *Jacob*, and a Girl that belonged to that Company. The Captain's leisure would not serve him to wait till they came in (though the *Indians* said they might come that night), wherefore he thought upon this project; to leave two old *Squawes* upon the place with victuals, and bid them tell *Tespequin*, that he should be his Captain over his *Indians* if he were found so stout a man, as they reported him to be; for the *Indians* had said that *Tespequin* could not be pierced by a bullet; for said they, he was shot twice, but the bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the Captain marched away with his booty, leaving this Trap behind him to take the rest; the next morning he came to see what his Trap had catch'd, there he found *Jacob* aforesaid (a notorious wretch) and the Girl he missed before, but not *Tespequin*: But within a day or two after, the said *Tespequin*, upon the hopes of being made a Captain under Capt. *Church*, came after some of the Company, and submitted himself in the Captain's absence; and was sent to *Plimouth*, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a Captain's place under Capt. *Church* did depend) he was found penetrable by the English Guns, for he fell down at the first shot, and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness.

About a Fortnight after the surprising of *Tespequin*, was one *Totosons* Company taken, wherein were above fifty persons: but *Totoson* himself escaped, and is out still in Rebellion, unless vengeance hath overtaken him since.

The next that was seized after the former, was one called *Annawan*; a very subtil politick fellow, and one of *Philip's* chief Councillors; he had about twelve men, and as many Women and Children in his Company, who were discovered by their shooting at the English Horses, and other Cattel; some of whom being taken, they made known the rest. Capt. *Church* at that time had but five English-men, and twenty *Indians*.

The place where this *Annawan* had betaken himself, was a ledg of Rocks inaccessible but at one place, which by a few hands might easily have been defended against a great number of Assailants: but *Cap. Church* by direction got up to their Wigwams before they were aware: and pleasantly told *Annawan*, that he came to sup with him that night; whereat the said *Annawan* (who had fallen flat upon the Earth, expecting to have his head cut off) looked up and cried *Taubut*, in their Language, *thank you*, as one being much affected with the generosity of our English Captain; they found some of the English Beef boiling in their Kettles: After Supper much discourse had with the said *Annawan*, they lay down to sleep together in the Wigwam: *Capt. Church* laying one of his legs upon *Annawan's* son, and the other upon himself, that he might have notice, if any of them offered to stir: after midnight *Annawan* rose up, and *Capt. Church* was presently awake, and intended to watch after his Prisoner: he thought at the first he might have gone forth upon some necessary occasion; but not long after, he returned again, having fetched out of a Swamp hard by, two horns of Powder, and a large Belt of Peag, supposed to be *Philip's* Belt, all which he delivered to *Capt. Church*, in way of thankful acknowledgment of his courtesy. Amongst other Discourse that passed between them, concerning the occasion of the War, and carrying of it on, the *Indian* would fain have excused *Philip*, and laid the blame upon the *Praying-Indians* (as they are distinguished from others by that Character) and others of the younger sort of his Followers, who coming with their several tales (which he likened to sticks laid on a heap) till by the multitude of them a great fire came to be kindled: they make much use of Parabolical expressions; for so said *Solomon*, *Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out; so where there is no tale-bearer the strife ceaseth*, *Prov. 26 20*. But *Philip* had large and long experience of the gentleness & kindness of the English, both to himself and to his People, so as unless he had born an evil and malicious mind against the English, he would never have hearkened to those stories, contrary to his faithful promise and Allegiance.

The said *Annawan* confesseth also, that he did believe by all those late occurrences, that there was a great God that over-ruled all; and that he had found, that whatever he had done to any of those, whether *Indians* or English, the same was brought upon himself in after-time. He confessed also, that he had put to death several of the English, that they had taken alive ten in one day; and could not deny but that some of them had been tortured: and now he could not but see the justice of the great God upon himself, with many other things of like nature.

But

But whatever his confessions of this nature were, being forced from him by the power of Conscience, after he was delivered up to Authority, he was put to death, as he justly had deserved.

It is said that *Philip* when he first began his Rebellion, had about three hundred fighting men under him, besides those that belonged to his Kinswoman *Wetamoe*, drowned about *Taunton*, that had almost as many under her as himself. And one *Quenopin*, a *Narhaganset* Sachim, that lived near him, and joined with him in his quarrel with the English: But it is certain that there are scarce any that are now left that belonged to either of them: so as although the Almighty hath made use of them to be a scourge to his People, he hath now turned his hand against them, to their utter destruction and extirpation from off the face of the earth, peradventure to make room for others of his People to come in their room, and in their stead.

As for the rest of the *Narhagansets* that joined in *Philip's* quarrel, it is already declared what end they were come unto. As for the rest of the *Indians*, whether *Nepnet*, *Nashaway*, *Pacomptuck*, or *Hudly* and *Springfield* *Indians*; it is not so certain what is become of them: But after their separation one from the other about *July* last, it was observed by all the Tracks in those Woods, they went still Westward, and about the middle of *August* last, a great party of them were observed to pass by *Westfield*, a small Town to the west of *Springfield*, and were judged to be about two hundred: News thereof being brought to Major *Talcot*, he with the Soldiers of *Connecticut Colony* under his command, both English and *Indians*, pursued after them as far as *Ausotunnog* River (in the middle way betwixt *Westfield*, and the *Dutch River*, and *Fort-Albany*) where he overtook them, and fought with them; killing and taking Prisoners forty-five, whereof twenty-five were fighting men, without the loss of any one of his Company besides a *Mobegin Indian*: many of the rest were sorely wounded, as appeared by the dabling of the Bushes with blood, as was observed by them that followed them a little further.

It is written since from *Albany*, that there were sundry lost besides the forty five forementioned, to the number of threescore in all; and also that an hundred and twenty of them are since dead of sickness: so as Vengeance seems to be pursuing of them as well as the rest.

Several of their Friends that belonged to *Nashaway*, and the places adjoining, repaired to *Pascataqua*, hoping to shrowd themselves under the Wings of some honest *Indians* about *Quechecho*, under pretence
of

of a Declaration set out by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* in the beginning of *July* last: but some of our Forces under Capt. *Hathorne* and Capt. *Sill*, with the help of Major *Walden*, Captain *Frost*, and others residing in those parts, being then in a readiness, separated the vile and wicked from the rest, and sent them down to the Governour at *Boston*, where eight or nine of the Ring-leaders, such as One-eyed-*John*, Sagamore *Sam* of *Nashaway*, chief Actors of the late outrages and bloody mischiefs, had Justice done upon them soon after.

As for the Massacres and Calamities that befell the English further Eastward, they shall in the second part of this Narrative be declared.

The *Indians* being thus dispersed several ways, were strangely confounded, and destroyed one parcel after another, until there was none left in the Western or Southern parts, that durst make any opposition all the following part of the year.

As for those that fled Westward toward *Albany*, we shall there leave them for the present, wishing we may never hear more of them: only a person of Quality informeth, that at *Hartford*, in *September* last, he was present at the examination of one *Choos* an *Indian*, formerly of *Connecticut*, but one of the *Narbaganset* Fort the last Winter, who confessed that he was one of that Company of *Indians* that went Westward the month before toward *Hudsons River*; but after the fight at *Ausotunoo*, he said he returned back to *Connecticut* for fear of the *Mohawks*; and that he lay hid about *Farmington* till he was almost starved; and then he went to the Sea-side to make use of the Oyster-bank at *Stratford* for his relief, where he was espied by the *Indians*, and so brought to *Hartford*.

He affirmed, that there were above two hundred and fifty fighting men amongst those *Indians* that fled Westward, besides Women and Children; and that near 200 of them passed the great River below *Albany*, and were sheltered by the *Indians* of that place called *Mobeganders*; but about eighty of them tarried on the hither-side of that River near a Dutch Village. But he being convicted of fighting against the English, was condemned to die, and executed about the same time.

Some few of the rest were skulking about the *Narbaganset* Country the last Fall, hoping to shelter themselves under *Uncas*, but he not willing to give them countenance against the mind of his friends at *Connecticut*, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have bin most of them taken and brought in Prisoners to the English this winter.

About the Month of *October* last, Mr. *Stanton* chanced to come from *Seaconke* with three *Indians* in his Company, *Pequods*, or *Mobegins*, they hearing

hearing by a Captive at one of the next Towns that there was a parcel of the enemy not far off, presently left Mr. *Stanton*, and pursued after them, whom they soon after overtook, and made them all prisoners : amongst them was an old man, not able to go their pace, but promising to come after them, they spared his life : but as soon as the men returned at night from hunting, the old man told them what had befallen their Women and Children ; whereupon the next morning they presently following after them, overtook them, and so recovered the Prisoners, and slew one of the three that carried them away; the other two hardly escaped ; one of them is called Major *Symon*, being part a *Pequod* and part a *Narhaganset*, but of extraordinary strength and courage ; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets ; but they unwilling to hang their success upon the hazard of a single Combate, came all towards him at once, whereupon first discharging his Gun amongst the whole Company, he brake through them all by force, and so escaped their hands, with one more that was one of his companions. This *Simon* hath since been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy ; some say that he with his own hands hath taken and killed above threescore ; and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the English, is this last week gone with the Soldiers to the Eastward, in pursuit of our quarrel against them in those parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out against the enemy, he came suddenly upon a great number of them, as they were spread under a steep bank, from whence leaping down into the midst of them he killed divers, and took others : Fighting it seems is a recreation to him, for he is seldome at home above four or five days together.

Some say that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and spent, he laid him down to sleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, wherein he apprehended the *Indians* were upon him, where suddenly rising up he espied the *Indians* coming toward him, but presently presenting his Gun against them, he so frightened them, that they gave him an opportunity to make an escape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of *December* last, News coming down to *Boston*, that mischief was done about *Seaconk*, and *Rehoboth*, by some remainder of the *Indians* thereabout, killing their Swine and Horses; several of *Medfield* went out after them, and pursuing them by their track, came upon a small party, of whom they took three, one of which escaped, while some of the Company were going after the rest: They which were taken, confessed there were a parcel, about threescore, that were lurking

up

up and down in those Woods: the said two *Indians* were brought into *Boston*, Jan. 8.

A Commission was formerly granted to *Peter Ephraim* an *Indian* of *Natick*, to go out in pursuit of them, with twenty-nine of his Company: a few of the English went with them from *Medfield*, who being tired with marching in the Snow, soon returned. The *Indians* kept on in their design, and lighted upon a considerable party of the Enemy, having traced them, till they found where they lodged over night; they surrounded them early in the morning, as their manner is, and then offered them quarter, if they would yield: eight resolute fellows refused, who were presently shot down, the rest were all seized, the whole being in number forty two. This was done about the middle of *January* last, since which time several such exploits have been done by them.

Jan. 23. last, The same Company of *Natick* *Indians* took two and twenty of the Enemy, among which were five able men, and five Arms: they sent the Prisoners home by five of their Company, the rest went further in the chase.

Jan. 26. last, Another parcel of the Enemy were brought in, eight in number, of whom five were men; amongst whom was the *Indian* called *Cornelius*: who three years since was indicted for killing an Englishmans Cow; upon which he is said to have uttered several threatening speeches, that he would kill English-men, and their Cows too; which was now remembred against him, when he was in particular called to account, for having an hand in killing some of the English and *Indians* also in league with us, for which he was sentenced to die, and was accordingly executed on *Febr.* 15. last.

Concerning the rest of the *Indians*, either in the Colony of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, or the *Massachusetts*, there is no occurrent more of moment come to light, since the end of *August* last, save what is last mentioned before; yet is it very remarkable, that although terms of peace were offered to all that would come in and surrender themselves (as appears by a Declaration put out in *July* last) and that a *Nipnet* Sachem called *John*, did thereupon with a considerable number of his Company come in, and offer themselves, and were accordingly secured of their lives, and other concernments; yet did that treacherous Varlet make an escape away this Winter from Capt. *Premices* House (under whose charge he was put, about *Cambridge* Village) and with above twenty more fled away into the Woods, to shift for himself amongst the rest of his bloody Companions; they were presently pursued, but had gone too

too fast and too far to be overtaken, whether it were conscientiousness of their own guilt, that having had an hand in the blood of the English, they feared vengeance hung over their heads: or whether they liked not the English manners so well, as to be confined thereunto: Wild creatures ordinarily love the liberty of the Woods, better than the restraint of a Cage: They made none acquainted with their design before they went away, and as yet little account can be given of them: only it is known, that one or two of their number have since been killed; and that one or two of their Families are entertained by *Uncas*, but what is become of the rest is yet uncertain: There were but seven of the Company, men; so as they are not capable to do much mischief. Some of late have travelled through the Woods to *Connecticut*, but met with no *Indians*, nor did they hear of any in their passing between that place and this.

And because in the present *Narrative*, there hath been frequent mention made of *Uncas* the *Mohegin Sachim*, and of his faithfulness to the interest of the English; I add in this place, that it is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English, or their Religion, than the rest of his Country-men: and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly against the *Pequods*, so of late against the *Narhagansets*: yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our Religion, and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed, which will evidently appear by this following passage, which I shall here represent just as it was, from under the hand of that Reverend person it relates unto, viz. Mr. *Fitch*, Pastor of the Church at *Norwich*, near unto which *Uncas* his place is.

There was a great drought the last Summer: but as it seems, it was more extream in those parts than with us about the *Massachusetts*: and although probably the English might have prayed for rain themselves without any motion from the *Indians*, yet their address to the said Mr. *Fitch* on such an account, with the consequences thereof, is very remarkable, which take in his own words:

Concerning the Drought, &c. the true Narrative of that Providence, is this:

In August last, such was the want of rain, that the Indian corn was not only dried and parched up, but the Apple-trees withered, the fruit and leaves fell off as in Autumn, and some Trees seemed to be dead with that Drought: the Indians came into the Town and did lament their want of rain, and that their Pawawes, could get none in their way of worship,
desiring

desiring me that I would seek to God for rain; I appointed a Fast-day for that purpose. The day being come, it proved a clear day without any clouds, until nigh Sun-setting, when he came from the Meeting, and then some Clouds arose, the next day remaining cloudy; then Uncas with many Indians came to my House, Uncas lamented there was such want of Rain; I asked, whether if God should send us Rain, he would not attribute it to their Pawawes? He answered, No, for they had done their uttermost, and all in vain: I replied, If you will declare it before all these Indians, you shall see what God will do for us; For, although this year he hath shewn his anger against the English, and not only against the Indians, yet he hath begun to save us; and I have found by experience twice in the like case, when we sought him by Fasting and Prayer, he hath given us Rain, and never denied us. Then Uncas made a great speech to the Indians (which were many) confessing, that if God should then send Rain, it could not be ascribed to their Pawawing, but must be acknowledged to be an answer of our Prayers. This day the Clouds spread more and more: and the next day there was such a plenty of Rain, that our River rose more than two foot in height.

By all that is recorded in the *Narrative* foregoing, there are none into whose hands it shall come, but will be sensible that the present time hath been a day of great rebuke and trouble to the poor people sojourning in this Wilderness, upon whom sundry calamities have broke in at once this last as well as in the former years: in many places they have been visited with sickness, and mortality, more than in many years before, depriving them of many worthy and useful persons; amongst others, the loss of Mr. John Winthrope, the late worthy Governour of the Colony of *Connecticut*, is, as it ought, much lamented by all, who died at *Boston*, April 5, 1676, in the 73^d year of his age; whither he was occasionally called the last Winter to sit with the rest of the Commissioners of the united Colonies, to consult about the great affairs of them, now newly engaged in these troubles from the Heathen. He was the eldest son of the famous Governour of the *Massachusetts*, deceased, March 26, 1649. *Proles similima Parenti*. The memory of the Father, though he died so long ago, yet lives still in the minds of the surviving Generation, and is like to continue much longer, by the remembrance of the eminent virtues found in this the eldest of his off-spring, who being not long after, or about that time called to take up his residence in that Colony, was by the importunity of the people there, prevailed with to accept of the Governours place, which for a long time after he held over that Colony, though

though annually chosen thereunto; being so well furnished with many excellent endowments, as well moral as political and philosophical, which rendred him most fit to be an healer of that people. Though we are dealing in another subject, yet shall not pass by his Tomb, as we go along, without paying the homage due to the memory of so honourable a Gentleman.

After all the forementioned Calamities and Troubles, it pleased God to alarm the Town of *Boston*, and in them the whole Country, by a sad Fire, accidentally kindled by the carelesness of an Apprentice that sat up too late over night, as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four, in which time it burned down to the ground forty six dwelling Houses, besides other Buildings, together with a Meeting-house of considerable bigness: some mercy was observed mixt with the judgment: for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of their ordinary Buildings consisting of such combustible matter) that whole end of the Town had at that time been consumed.

Whereby we see that God by his providence can turn our dwellings into ashes, without the help of either forreign or domestick Enemies. Which consideration may awaken all from security and confidence in these uncertain and unstable possessions, who have no firmer Foundation, that may so soon after their first erection, be eaten up by the flames of fire, before the iron teeth of time have had leisure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the Fire of all these Judgments, we may be purged from our Dross, and become a more refined people, as vessels fitted for our Masters use.

A
SUPPLEMENT

Concerning the
WARRR
With the
PEQUODS.

Reader,

I Could willingly now have expected that my Indenture being cancelled, I might have had a discharge from any further labour of this nature ; but lest I be found to have falsified my word passed in the Title of the Narrative, according to the Civilians Rule, *Nihil dicitur factum quamdiu aliquid superest ad agendum ; As also that other, Non absolutus est debitor qui multa reddit, sed qui omnia ;* being some intimation hath already been made of great trouble with the Pequod-Indians, at the first settling of the Plantations upon Connecticut River, that I may make even, though not over-measure : I shall in the last place give this following account thereof, either left under the hands of such as commanded in chief in that action, or from the mouths of some faithful Witnesses, that were not only then present, but personally concerned and engaged in that Service

T Here was a Nation of the Indians in the Southern parts of New-England, called *Pequods*, seated on a fair Navigable River, twelve miles to the Eastward of the mouth of the great and famous River of Connecticut ; who (as was commonly reported about the time vvhhen New-England was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike People than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the Continent, and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the Sea, and became a terrour to all their Neigh-

Neighbours, on whom they had exercised several acts of inhuman cruelty; insomuch that being fleshed with Victories over their Fellow *Indians*, they began to thirst after the blood of any Foreigners, English and Dutch that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of Trade, or upon other Accounts.

In the year 1634, they treacherously and cruelly murdered Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, who came occasionally with a Bark into the River to Trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in like treacherous manner slew one Mr. *Oldham* (formerly belonging to *New-Plimouth*, but at that time an Inhabitant of the *Massachusetts*) at *Block-Island*, a place not far from the mouth of their Harbour, as he was fairly Trading with them: besides some other such like acts of perfidious cruelty towards some of the Dutch that had formerly been trading up *Connecticut River*: by which practises perceiving that they began to stink in the nostrils of their Neighbours, whose revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to have to deal with too many Enemies at once, they imitated the subtilty of the Children of *Ammon*, when they began to stink before *David*; endeavouring to strengthen themselves with alliance of some of those they had formerly provoked, that by their assistance they might defend themselves against the rest, not doubting but to make their part good with their foreign Enemies, if they could be reconciled to their *Indian* Neighbours, the *Narragansets*; or other home-bred Enemies, if they could but fortifie themselves by a League of Friendship with any of their foreign Neighbors that were newly come to plant in these parts. To this end they sent Messengers with gifts to the *Massachusetts* in the latter end of the same year 1634, the first Messengers were dismissed without an answer: but they being sensible of their own danger, and of the great importance a peace with the English of the *Massachusetts* might be, pursued the business very earnestly, sending Messengers a second time, vvhho offered much *Wampam* (*Indians Money*) and Beaver; with these second Messengers the Governor and Council of the *Massachusetts* had much conference many days; and at last after the best advice they could take amongst themselves, concluded a Peace and Friendship with them, upon these Conditions:

1. That they should deliver up to the English those persons amongst them that were guilty of Captain *Stones* Death, and the rest that vvere vwith him.

2. That if the English desired to Plant in *Connecticut*, they should give up their right to them.

3. That

3. That the English should thenceforward Trade with them as their Friends, which was a chief thing aimed at, the said *Pequods* being at that time in War with the Dutch, and the rest of their Neighbours, on the Reason forementioned; to these conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their desire that their new Confederates, the *Massachusetts*, should mediate a peace for them with the *Narragansets*; intimating likewise their willingness that a part of the Present which they promised to send, should be given to them; standing so much upon their honour, that they would not be seen to give any thing themselves; such was the pride and height of Spirit lodged in this company of Treacherous Villains, the Dregs and Lees of the Earth, and Dross of Mankind.

As for Capt. *Stone's* death, they slyly evaded the guilt of it, falsely adding that there were but two left that had any hand therein, and that it was a just quarrel wherein he was slain: for, said they, he surprised some of our men, and would by force have compelled them to shew him the way up the River; whereupon the said *Stone* coming ashore, with two more, was watched by nine of our men (say they) who finding them asleep in the night, slew them to deliver our own men, one of whom going afterward to the Barque, it was suddenly blown up. Whereas the truth of the matter was thus:

The said Capt. *Stone* formerly belonging to *Christophers* in the *West-Indies*, occasionally coming to these parts, as he passed between this place and *Virginia*, put in at that River, where the *Indians* after they had been often on board his Vessel to trade with him, at the last came friendly on board as they used to do, but finding the Captain asleep in his Cabin, took the opportunity to murder him as he lay, casting a Covering over him that he might not be discerned by the rest, whom they presently after dispatched one after another, all but Capt. *Norton*, who made stout resistance, for a long time defending himself in the Cook-room of the Bark, till the gun-powder which he had set in an open Vessel, to be more ready for his use, accidentally took fire, by which fatal accident he was so burned, and his eyes so blinded, that he could not make any longer resistance, but forthwith fell into the hands of these cruel and blood-thirsty wretches, who after they had taken away his life, made a prey of all that was in the Vessel.

As for Mr. *Oldham* he was indeed murdered at an Island called by the *Indians* *Manisses* (since known among the English by the name of *Black-Island*) but those that murdered him (probably Inhabitants of the said Island) fled presently to the *Pequods*, by whom they were sheltered, and

so became also guilty themselves of his blood, which ere long was revenged by them, as is in the next place to be declared.

The English of the *Massachusetts* after the peace concluded with the *Pequods*, sent a Bark thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendship; but they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, inso-much as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said *Indians* perceiving, made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief, not only by harbouring those who had murdered Mr. *Oldham*, but surprizing many of the English in the year 1636, when *Connecticut River* began first to be planted, divers of whom were killed (Nine at one time in April 1637.) by them about *Wethersfield*, when the Plantation then first began, so as they could not pass up and down the River without a Guard, but they would be in danger of being cut off, or carried away, as two Maids were said to be; Thirty men have been killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured after a most barbarous manner, by insulting over their Prisoners in a blasphemous wise, when in their dying Agonies, under the extremity of their pains (their flesh being first flathed with knives, and then filled with burning Embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping groans, resigning up their Souls into their hands; with which words these wretched Caitiffs used to mock the English afterward, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the same time some Agents sent over by the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, built a Fort at the mouth of *Connecticut River*. wherein was placed one Lieutenant *Gardener*, and a convenient number of Soldiers to secure the place intended soon after to be planted, but all the winter following (*scil.*) in the end of the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said Salvages, not daring to stir out of command of the Fort, but they were ready to be seized by these their barbarous Enemies: At one time the Lieutenant himself with Ten or twelve of the Soldiers, marching out of the Fort, with an intent to pass over a Neck of Land, to burn the Marshes; as soon as ever they were passed over the streight of the Neck, they espyed a Company of *Indians* making towards the said Isthmus, which if they could not recover, they see they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all speed, they very narrowly escaped, and were Two or three of them killed notwithstanding; before they could get back into the Fort, which was presently surrounded with multitudes of them; but the discharging of a piece of Ordnance gave them warning to keep further from the Walls;

Walls: sometimes they came with their Canoes into the River in view of the Soldiers within the Fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of reach of their Guns, they would imitate the dying groans and invocations of the poor Captive English, which the English Soldiers were forced with silent patience to bear, not being then in a capacity to requite their insolent blasphemies. But they being by these horrible outrages justly provoked to indignation, unanimously agreed to joyn their Forces together to root them out of the earth with Gods Assistance.

The Colony of the *Massachusetts* did immediately set about it in the latter end of the Summer (1636) by sending out Fourscore men under the Command of Capt. *Endicot* of *Salem*; who went to the *Pequod* Country by water, with Commission to treat with the said *Pequods*, first offering terms of peace, if they would surrender the Murtherers of the English, and forbear further acts of hostility, or else fight them.

The Captain aforesaid coming ashore with his Company, by a messenger sent them by an Interpreter, obtained some little speech with a great number of them at a distance; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the Woods and Swamps, where there was no pursuing of them: however one discharging a Gun among them as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them for that time.

Winter approaching, and no encouragement presenting further to pursue them; at that time it was resolved better to return back for the present, and wait a further season when more Forces could be gathered together to pursue the quarrel to the utmost.

During this interim the *Pequods* perceiving that they had by several late injuries and outrages, drawn upon themselves the hatred of all the English, as well as of their own people by former wrongs; and distrusting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtil insinuations, and persuasions, try to make their peace with the *Narragansets*, using such Arguments as to right reason seemed not only pregnant to the purpose, but also (if revenge that bewitching and pleasing passion of mans mind hath not blinded their eyes) most cogent and invincible: But they were by the good providence of God withheld from embracing those counsels, which might otherwise have proved most pernicious to the design of the English: viz. That the English were Strangers, and began to overspread the Country, the which would soon be possessed by them to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their right

right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the *Narhagansets* would but make way for their own ruin, by helping to destroy the *Pequods*; for after themselves were subdued, it would not be long ere the *Narhagansets* themselves, would in the next place be rooted out likewise: Whereas if they would but join together against the English, they could demonstrate how the English might easily either be destroyed, or forced to leave the Country, and that without any danger to themselves: telling them also, that they never need come to any open Battels, they might destroy them only by firing their Houses, and killing their Cattel, and lying in wait for them as they went out about their ordinary occasions; which course if it were pursued, they said, their new and unwelcom Neighbours could not long subsist, but would either be starved with hunger and cold, or forced to forsake the Country.

Machiavel himself, if he had sat in counsel with them could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have perswaded them to a peace.

It is said, that so much reason was apprehended in these motives, that the *Narhagansets* were once wavering, and were almost perswaded to have granted an ear to their advice and perswasion, and joyned all against the English; but when they considered what an advantage they had put into their hands by the strength and favour of the English, to take a full revenge of all their former injuries upon their inveterate Enemies: the thought of that was so sweet, that it turned the scale against all other considerations whatsoever.

The Report of the unheard-of cruelties forementioned, filling the ears of the English throughout the Country; it was agreed by the joynt consent of the English throughout the three Colonies, to unite all their Forces together, for the suppressing the common Enemy, early in the Spring, *Anno* 1637, who were also moved thereunto by their own necessities, as well as by the earnest request of their Friends at *Connecticut*.

Those of *Plimouth*, being written unto by the Governour of the *Masachusetts*, appeared very cordially willing thereunto: to which end they agreed to send fifty men at their own charge, with as much speed as the matter required, with sufficient Leaders appointed, and a Bark provided to carry them Provisions, and tend upon them on all occasions; but before they could be dispatched away the next Spring, news was brought that the Enemy was wholly routed, so as their journey was stopped, and their good will accepted for the deed, as if they really had been there to have born their part in the Service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their

minds; but to their too late invitation to the Service; the motion fetching a large compass from *Connecticut* down to the *Massachusetts*, from whom in the last place they were solicited thereunto. And for the other two Colonies, those of *Connecticut* being quickened on by the spur of necessity, and present sense of the insolency daily acted at their very doors, were soonest upon their March, and by the good hand of God upon them, had given the main stroak before their Friends of the *Massachusetts* could come up with them; yet was there no repining for the want of the glory of the Victory; nor was there any cause, those that were the chief actors therein being forward to give God the glory of the whole; and not willing to pocket up any thing thereof themselves, acknowledging that they never saw more of God, or less of man, in any business of that nature, as may more fully be understood by particulars ensuing.

The Colony of the *Massachusetts* determined to send an hundred and sixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordered under the conduct of Capt. *Patrick* of *Watertown*, and Capt. *Trask* of *Salem*, Capt. *Stroughton* of *Dorchester*, being to command in chief; with whom was sent that holy man of God Mr. *John Wilson* (Pastor of one Church of *Boston*) the Charets and Horsemen of our *Israel*, by whose Faith and Prayer, as sometimes was said of *Luther* (in reference to *Germany*) the Country was preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no Enemy should break in upon a place whilst he survived, which as some have observed, accordingly came to pass.

The matter requiring great expedition, and it being long before the whole Company could be dispatched away; Capt. *Patrick* with forty men were sent away beforehand, to be sure to meet with those of *Connecticut*, in case they should be in action, before the rest of our Forces could get into a readiness, which accordingly came to pass; for the main business in taking the Fort was over, even before the said *Patrick* could get thither. Capt. *Underhil* was sent by Mr. *Vane* the Governour to *Saybrook*, the Winter before, to strengthen the Garrison there. The assaulting and surprizing of which, being the most remarkable piece of service in that whole expedition, take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful, and prudent Commander Capt. *Mason*, chief in the action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labour, and enjoy the benefit of that days service, having an Inheritance given him in that part of the Country, as a just reward of his faithful service on that day, as well as at other times. *Wequash*, a *Pequod* by Nation, but disgusted by the Sachim, proved a good guide, by whose direction they were
led

led to a Fort near *Mistick* River, some miles nearer than *Saffacous* his Fort, which they first intended to assault.

On the second *Wednesday* of *May*, being the tenth day of that Month, we set sail with Ninety men of the English in one Pink, one Pinnace, two Boats, towards the *Pequods*, with seventy River-Indians, having somewhat a long passage to *Saybrook-Fort*, about forty of our Indians desired to go down by Land on *Saturday*, but on *Monday* they went forth from the Fort, and meeting seven *Pequods* and *Nianticks*, they slew five outright, took one Prisoner, and brought him into *Saybrook-Fort*, where he was executed by Capt. *Underhill*, the other escaped.

On *Monday* we all landed at *Saybrook-Fort*, and stayed there till *Tuesday*; Capt. *Underhill* joyning nineteen men with himself to us: whereupon we sent back twenty of ours to strengthen our Plantations: and so set sail on *Thursday* towards *Narhaganset*, and arrived there on *Friday*.

On *Saturday*, my self, with Capt. *Underhill*, Lieutenent *Sealy*, with our guard, marched to *Canonicus* by Land, being about five miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner: having had parley with him, we sent to *Miantonimo*, who would give no present answer; and so our Sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until *Monday*, at which time there assembled *Miantonimo* with the chieft of them, about two hundred men; and being solemnly set for Consultation after their manner; we told them, we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the wrong committed, and bloodshed by their and our Enemies, upon our native Country-men, not any way desiring their aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of: Moreover, we told them, That the English and they had always been friends for ought we knew, and so we were with the *Indians* that had not wronged English-men, the which they acknowledged, and so made a large description of the *Pequods* Country, and told us, they would send men with us; so we resolved there to keep our rendezvous at *Canonicus* his Plantation on the morrow night, being *Tuesday*: but the wind being stiff, we could not land our men till five or six of the clock in the afternoon, at which time I landed on *Narhaganset* shoar with thirty two men, and so marched to the place of Rendezvous formerly appointed: Capt. *Underhill* and my Lieutenant landed the rest, and so came up to me that night. About two hours before day came an *Indian* with a Letter from Capt. *Patrick*, being then at Mr. *Ro. Williams* his Plantation with forty men, who desired us to stay for his coming, and joyning, not

intimating when that would be: the which being considered and debated, we thought could not be our safest course (though his present assistance was much desired) for these Reasons :

First, Because the day before when we had absolutely resolved to go, the *Indians* plainly told us, they thought we were but in jest, and also that English-men did talk much, but not fight; nay, they concluded that they would not go out: and besides if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by reason of the frequent recourse between them by certain Squaws (who have mutual recourse): whereupon we were constrained to set forward toward the *Pequods*, with seventy seven English, and about sixty *River-Indians*, and as I suppose near about two hundred *Narhagansets*, and marched that night to the Eastern *Nianticks*, where we kept our Rendezvous that night; The Sachim of the place adding about an hundred of his men unto us.

We set forward and marched about ten miles, where making an Alta (or halt) there we held a consultation with the *Indians* that desired to know what we intended? we told them, that we resolved to assault *Sassacoms* his Fort, at which they were all stricken, & as it were amazed with fear, as they plainly confessed; and so after long debate and pressing of them, taxing them with cowardize, some of them resolved to go along with us, though I suppose they had no such intent, as appeared afterward; some of them left us, to the number as I suppose of an hundred or less; and marching on five miles further, we made another Alta, where they told us, we had near a dozen miles to *Sassacoms* his Fort, as we gathered by their relation: Being very weary in travelling with our arms, ammunition and provision, we were constrained to alter our resolution, and resolved to attempt that Fort the which they had formerly described to be three or four miles nearer; and also one of Captain *Underhill's* men failing, put it out of doubt. But whosoever saith, that Capt *Underhill* had any falling out about that or any thing else, doth speak untruth; for we both resolved to *Sassacoms* his Fort, as we concluded in our consultation at *Narhaganset*, and so continued our resolution till we received the former reasons as grounds sufficient to perswade us to the contrary, and to prosecute that which was most likely to be accomplished.

They drew a Plot of the situation of the *Pequods*, and described *Sassacoms* his Fort to be the nearest, which was the chief cause we determined to assault that first, and had no reason leading till our last Alta, where upon the reasons formerly mentioned, we changed our resolution: this they much desired, and very much rejoiced; for it was dreadful to them to hear the name of *Sassacoms*.

From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvous, supposing we had been within one mile of the Fort: They having sent an *Indian* to discover before-hand, brought us news that they were secure, having been fishing with many *Canoes* at Sea, and divers of them walking here and there.

About two hours before day we marched toward the Fort, being weary and much spent; many of us having slept nothing at all.

And so we began to march toward the Fort, the Lord being pleased wonderfully to assist and encourage us; after a tedious march of Three or four miles, about break of day we came fair in view of the Fort standing on the top of an hill not steep; the *Indians* all falling back, were suddenly vanished out of sight, so we made an *Alta*, and sent back for our Guide, who had promised to go with us to the Fort; but his heart we saw much failed him; we asked him what they intended who promised to wing us, and to surround the Fort; he told us they were much afraid; but he seeing our resolution, went to them and prevailed with divers of them to come up to us; we told them their best course would be to flank the Fort on both sides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded; Capt. *Underhill* to the western entrance with one division, my self with the other to the eastern as silently as possibly we could; so it pleased God we came up with the *Pallisado* within two rods, before we were discovered, at which time a dog began to bark, and an *Indian* cried out, but not being my self rightly informed by the *Indian* of the right entrance, though there was a little postern door, the which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my foot; but the Lord directed me otherwise for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our Arms, which proved true; so I suddenly hastened to the *Pallisado*, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, discharged upon them, and so the rest with all celerity; and suddenly hastened on toward that side which stood toward the water; where I concluded was an entrance, and instantly fell upon it, being only barred with two great forked boughs, or branches of some tree; and hastening over them, I drew one after me, my Lieutenant, the other way outward; then we suddenly fell upon the *Wigwams*, the *Indians* cried out in most hideous manner, some issuing out of the *Wigwams*, shooting at us desperately, and so creeping under beds that they had. We had resolved a while not to have burned it, but being we could not come at them, I then resolved to set it on fire, after divers of them were slain, and some of our men sore wounded: So entering one of their *Wigwams*, I took a fire-brand [at which time an *Indian* drawing an Arrow had killed him, but one Davis his Serjeant cut the

Bow-

Bow-string with his Courtlace] and suddenly kindled a fire in the Mats wherewith they were covered, and fell to a retreat, and surrounded the Fort; the fire encreasing violently, inso much as that they were constrained to climb to the top of the Pallisadoe; from whence they were soon fetcht down, I suppose to the number of an Hundred and forty; many of them issuing forth were suddenly slain either by the English or *Indians*, who were in a ring without us, all being dispatched and ended in the space of an hour, having Two of our men slain, and Sixteen wounded.

Being very hot and dry, we could very hardly procure any water, where we continued one hour not knowing what course to take, or which way to go, our Pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far, or which way to go to them; our Interpreter being an *Indian* and they so hurried and distracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the Enemy, who suddenly approached, that we could hardly come to speak with him, who knew nothing what they intended.

But the Enemy approaching, they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think they durst not leave us.

Our Pinnaces then coming in view with a fair gale, being guided as it were to serve our necessity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently seen in a matter of like moment, and less of man in several passages. Then we set our men in order, and prepared for fight, and began to march toward the Harbour where the Pinnaces were to ride: the Enemy approaching, Capt. *Underhill* with divers *Indians* and certain English issued out to encounter them, but they would not stand to it, for the most part they lay behind Rocks, Trees and Bushes; we marched on they still dodging of us; sometimes desperately hazarding themselves in open field, where some of them were slain in open view, and as we hear many wounded: I was somewhat cautelous in bestowing many shot upon them needlessly, because I expected a strong opposition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our Pinnaces where they wholly left us, which was near Six miles as I conceive, having then about Two miles more to the River.

Four of our wounded men we were forced to carry our selves, while at length we hired the *Indians* to bear them, both in this and all their following enterprises against the *Peguods*.

Here note that one *Wequash* a *Peguod* fell from his Country-men, and proved a Guide to the English.

This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that came

came from *Connecticut*, within a while after the Forces sent from the *Massachusetts* under the conduct of Captain *Stoughton* as Commander in chief arrived there also, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the surprisal of the *Pequods* Fort as aforesaid, which yet was but the breaking of the nest, and unkenneling those salvage Wolves; for the Body of them, with *Saslacous* the chief Sachim (whose very name was a terrour to all the *Narhagansets*) were dispersed abroad and scattered all over their Country, yet so far dismayed, that they never durst make any assault upon the English, that in several parties were scattered about in pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. *Stoughtons* Soldiers came up, before news was brought of a great number of the Enemy, that were discovered by the side of a River up the Country, being first trepanned by the *Narhagansets*, under pretence of securing them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not stir from the place, by which means our Forces of the *Massachusetts* had an easie Conquest of some hundreds of them who were there coup'd up as in a Pound; not daring to fight, not able to fly away, and so were all taken without any opposition: the men among them to the number of Thirty were turned presently into *Charons* Ferry-boat, under the command of Skipper *Gallop*, who dispatched them a little without the Harbour; the Females and Children were disposed of according to the will of the Conquerors, some being given to the *Narhagansets* and other *Indians* that assisted in the service.

The rest of the Enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in the places where they intended to have hid themselves, the rest fled out of their own Country over *Connecticut* River, up toward the Dutch Plantation. Our Soldiers being resolved by Gods assistance to make a final destruction of them, were minded to pursue them which way soever they should think to make their escape; to which end in the next place, our Soldiers went by Water towards *New-Haven*, whither they heard (and which in reason was most likely) they bent their course: soon after they were informed of a great number of them that had betaken themselves to a neighbouring place not far off, whither they might hope it was not like they should be pursued; but upon search they found Fifty or sixty Wigwams, but without any *Indians* in any of them, but heard that they had passed along toward the Dutch Plantation, whereupon our Soldiers that were before, all embarked for *Quillepiack*, afterwards called *New-Haven*, and being landed there, they had not far

to march unto the place where it was most probable they should either find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here and there with sundry of them, whom they slew or took Prisoners, amongst whom were two Sachims, whom they presently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachim or near a kin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he should go and enquire where *Sassacous* was, and accordingly bring them word; this *Indian* overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in consideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very true and faithful to those that sent him; his order was to have returned in three days, but not being able within so short a time to make a full discovery of the business, & also find an handsome way to escape, he made it Eight days before he returned, in which something fell out not a little remarkable; for those he was sent to discover, suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself that he came for a Spy, pursued after him, so he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the Sea-side, he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned a drift, by which means he paddled by some shift or other so far out of the harbour, that making a sign he was discerned of some on board one of the Vessels that attended on our Soldiers, by whom being taken up, he made known what he had discovered: But after he was gone, *Sassacous* suspecting (and not without just cause) what the matter was, made his escape from the rest with Twenty or thirty of his men to the *Mobawkes*, by whom himself and they were all murdered afterward, being hired thereunto by the *Narhagansets*, as was confidently affirmed and believed.

Thus this treacherous and cruel Villain with his Companions, having against his Faith and promise, as well as contrary to the Laws of nature and Nations, murdered several others, both of the Dutch and English Nation, is in the same manner himself against the Laws of Hospitality murdered by those to whom he fled for refuge; *Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will repay it.*

It is worthy our observation, that this *Sassacous* the chief Sachim of the *Peguods*, as *Philip of Mount-Hope*, (both of them in their several times and places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel mischiefs, yet) escaped the hands of those whom they had so many ways provoked to the utmost degree of indignation, that so they might not too much gratifie their own spirits in taking revenge; but it must be brought about by those means, in which the glory of Divine vengeance and Justice shall more eminently shine forth, that it might be truly said of them as *Adonibezek* confessed of himself, *As I have done, so God hath requited me.* But to return.

The rest of the *Pequods* from whom *Sassacus* had made an escape, shifted every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them, (when a party of our Soldiers according to the direction of him that was sent as a Spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their Company were fled; but our Soldiers ranging up and down as Providence guided them, at the last, *July 13. 1637*, they lighted upon a great number of them, they pursued in a small *Indian Town* seated by the side of an hideous Swamp (near the place where *Fairfield* or *Stratford* now stand) into which they all slipped as well *Pequods* as Natives of the place; before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a Centinel to give warning; *Mr. Ludlow* and *Capt. Mason* with half a score of their men hapned to discover this Crew. *Capt. Patrick* and *Capt. Trask* with about an 100 of the *Massachusetts* forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such Commanders as first hapned to be there, gave special order that the Swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in compass) but *Lieutenant Davenport* belonging to *Capt. Trask* his Company, not hearing the word of Command, with a dozen more of his Company in an over-eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the Swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those evening-wolves that were newly kennelled therein; for *Lieut. Davenport* was sorely wounded in the Body, *John Wedgwood* of *Ipswich* in the belly, and was laid hold on also by some of the *Indians*; *Thomas Sherman* of the said *Ipswich*, in the neck; some of their neighbours that ventured in with them were in danger of the Enemies arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazard of being swallowed by the miery bogs of the Swamp, wherein they stuck so fast, that if *Serjeant Riggs* of *Roxbury* had not rescued two or three of them, they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but such was the strength and courage of those that came to the rescue, that some of the *Indians* being slain with their swords, their friends were quickly relieved, and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the *Indians* of the place, who had for company sake run with their Guests the *Pequods* into the Swamp, did not love their friendship so well as to be killed with them also for company sake; wherefore they began to bethink themselves that they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parly, which was granted; and presently understood by the means of *Thomas Stanton* an exact Interpreter then at hand, upon which the Sachim of the place with several others, their Wives and Children, that liked better to live quietly in their Wigwams than be buried in the Swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them: after

some time of further pearly with these, the Interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness, that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there; and to that end began to let fly their arrows thick against him, as intending to make his blood some part of the price of their own; but through the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which side of the Swamp the Enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through the Swamp with their swords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner, which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumterence plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our Soldiers standing at twelve foot distance could surround it, the enemy was kept in all the night, but a little before day break (by reason of the Fog that useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy brake through the Beliegers, and escaped away into the Woods, some by violence, and some by stealth dropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit; the rest were left to the mercy of the Conquerors, of which many were killed in the Swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still to be shot through or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for the asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen: Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning entring into the Swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol-bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire, and never were minded more by friend or fo: of those who were not so desperate or sullen to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male Children were sent to the *Bermudas*, of the females some were distributed to the English Towns, some were disposed of among the other *Indians*, to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to our selves.

This overthrow given to the *Pequods* struck such a terror into all the *Indians* in those parts (some of whom had been ill-affected to the English before) that they sought our friendship, and tendred themselves to be un-

der our protection, which they then obtained, and have never since forfeited it any of them till this late rebellion of *Philip* the subject of the discourse foregoing. Amongst the rest of the Prisoners, special notice was taken of the Wife of a noted *Indian* called *Mononotto*, who with her Children submitted her self, or by the chance of the War fell into the hands of the English: it was known to be by her mediation that two English Maids (that were taken away from *Wethersfield* upon *Connecticut* River) were saved from death, in requital of whose pity and humanity, the life of her self and her Children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the care of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *John Winthrop*, for that time being the worthy Governour of the *Massachusetts*; who taking notice of her modest countenance and behaviour, as well as of her only request (not to suffer wrong either as to the honour of her body, or fruit of her womb) gave special charge concerning her according to his noble and Christian disposition.

After this slaughter at the Swamp, the *Pequods* being upon every turn expoled to revenge of the *Mobegins* on one side, and *Narbagansets* on the other, chose rather to submit themselves to the English, by whom they were put, some under the *Mobegins*, and some under the *Narbagansets*, which at last proved the occasion of the present quarrel, as is conceived, through the ambition of *Miantonimo*, as was at first related.

This was the issue of the *Pequod* War, which in the day of it here in *New-England* was then as formidable to the Country in general as the present War with *Philip*; the experience of which, because it may administer much matter of comfort and encouragement to the surviving Generation, as well as of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God from all those who have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit, and reaped the fruit of their labour, and courage, who engaged therein: the more pains hath been taken to search out the broken pieces of that Story, and thus put them together before the memory thereof was buried in the ruins of time, and past the recovery and knowledg of the present age, the which though it be here in the last place recorded, should in the first be remembred.

A Table shewing the Towns and Places which are inhabited by the English in New-England: those that are marked with figures, as well as expressed by their names, are such as were assaulted by the Indians, during the late awful Revolutions of Providence.

- N**umb. 1. *Mount-hope*. A gallant neck of Land where Philip dwelt, who first began the Insurrection against the English, *Jun. 24, 1675*.
2. The place where stands the Town of *Swanzy* consisting of forty dwelling-houses, most of them very fair Buildings, just at the entrance on to *Mount-hope*, where were (*June 24, 1675*.) slain six men at *Bourn's Garison*, in *Metapoiset* (another Neck marked *) not far from the former) and three wounded as they came from the publick Meeting, two kill'd that went for the Surgeon: and a Negro of Mr. *Mile's* wounded, so as he died soon after. Also *Layton Archer* and his Son were slain, *June 25*, which three belonged to *Road-Island*, but were killed at the *Fall-River*, though by misinformation it is elsewhere published that it was done *June 24*. Also 18 Houses were burnt within *Mount-hope*, that belonged to *Swanzy* Town; the rest of the Town being all burned the next year, *June 16, 1676*, save six houses that are yet standing: besides the barbarous murder of Mr. *Hezekiah Willet*, *June 26, 1676*.
3. *Middleborough*, formerly called *Namasket*, where *Sausaman* was slain: it is situate between *Plimouth* and *Taunton*, and is misplaced in the Map. Here one *J. Marks* was walking in a field of *Indian-corn*, in *July 1675*, had his thigh-bone broke by a shot from an *Indian*, after which he lay forty-eight hours before he was found, and yet was alive, but his wound was so putrified, that he died thereof. When the Town was first assaulted, the Miller running back to shut down his Mill, was assaulted by seven *Indians* at one time, by eleven at another, had several bullets shot through his Coat, yet got safe to the Garison; but the people were forced to retire to *Plimouth* with their goods soon after, when the whole Village was destroyed by the *Indians*.
4. *Dartmouth*, where in *June 1676*, a man and a woman were slain by the *Indians*; another woman was wounded and taken; but because she had kept an *Indians* child before, so much kindness was shewed her, as that she was sent back, after they had dressed her wound; the *Indians* guarded her till she came within sight of the English.
5. *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, where were burned eight Farm-houses in the end of *June*, and beginning of *July 1675*. On *March 28, 1676*, forty-

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five dwelling-houses were there burned, whereof thirty eight were inhabited, and the owners thereby turned out of doors, and left without house or harbour. Beside twenty-one Barns, two Corn-mills, one Saw-mill burnt at the same time. *June 16, 1676*, eight Farm houses were there also consumed by the fire of the enemy. The persons slain here were seven, four with Capt. *Pierce*, *March 26, 1676*, another *March 28*, another *Apr. 28*, the last *May 29*.

6. *Pocasset*, where were some houses burned *July 1675*, and seven or eight slain in the Swamp near the place: here also Capt. *Church* gave the enemy a notable defeat the same month.

7. *Taunton*, where were 15 persons slain by the *Indians*, 11 men, two maids, and two youths: besides a man slain in the fight with Capt. *Beers*; some in the year 1675, and some 1676, *pag. 25, 26*.

8. *Mendham*, where were the first English slain within the *Massachusetts* Colony, to the number of five or six, *July 1675*. within a few Months after the whole Village was destroyed, *pag. 26, 27, 31*.

9. *Brookfield* or *Squabog* was destroyed by the *Indians Aug. 2, 1675*. whereof the chief Inhabitants, *viz. John Eres, John Pritchett, and Rich, Coy*, treacherously slain under pretence of a Treaty, *pag 32, 33*.

10. *Deerfield* or *Pocumtuck*, a Village newly planted, where *Sept. 12, 1675*, divers were slain, and the Houses burned by the enemy. Between this place and *Northampton* was a skirmish with the enemy 1675, 8 or 9 of the English were there slain, and 26 of the enemy. Near unto this place was Captain *Lothrop* set upon with 7 or 800 *Indians*, whereby himself, and most of his Soldiers, to the number of 73, were cut off *Sept. 18, 1675, pag. 36, 37, 38, 39*. The fight at the *Falls*, a little beyond *Deerfield*, *pag. 91*. It is considerable that the Evening before Capt. *Turner* and Capt. *Holioke* gave the enemy a Camizado in the *Wigwams*, they had been feasting and dancing, having before they laid down to sleep, filled their bellies with new Milk, (as an English woman then in their hands, did declare, who was made to milk *Hatfield* Cows, which a day or two before they had driven away. So that when they were most secure, destruction came upon a great part of them, to the number of three hundred and fifty, as was judged by such as were there, *vide pag. 91*.

11. *Squakbeag*, another Village newly begun, which was also destroyed *Sept. 1675*, near unto this place Capt. *Beers* was slain, and 19 of his men, as they went to relieve the Garison there, *pag. 37*.

12. *Springfield*, which was treacherously assaulted *Octob. 5, 1675*, by three

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three or four hundred *Indians*, when *L. Cooper* and two more were slain, and 35 Houses burned with other Buildings belonging thereunto. Some others were there slain in the Winter following. *pag. 41.* Within a few miles of this place *Capt. Samuel Holioko* handfelled his office with the slaughter of four or five of the enemy. Three or four were here slain the Winter following.

13. *Hatfield*, a small Town seated on the West-side of *Connecticut River*, over against *Hadly*, which was furiously assaulted by 700 *Indians*, *Octob. 19, 1675*, yet was the place preserved by the valour of the English with the loss but of one man, *Serj. Norton* by name. *pag. 42.* although 7 or 8 of the Scouts were that day surprized and slain by the enemy, and one or two of the Town. It was assaulted also 1676, when five men were slain that came to their relief from *Hadly*, *pag. 93.*

14. *Northampton*, a fair Town three or four miles distant from *Hatfield*, which was several times assaulted by the enemy, yet was preserved with the loss but of a few of the people, and the burning of seven or eight of the Houses thereof. *pag. 44, 77.*

15. *Hadly*, a considerable Town on the East-side of *Connecticut River*, violently assaulted by the enemy, yet no considerable hurt done, *June 12, 1676*, only some few were surprized and slain, *pag. 94.* that without order would venture without the Pallisadoes. In the March before, one *Goodman Deacon* of the Church, was slain at *Hoccanum*, belonging to *Hadly*, and two more that went against order and command to the top of mount *Holioko*.

16. *Westfield*, a small Town seven miles west from *Springfield* where some few Houses were burned before or in the Winter, 1675, and three or four persons slain, as they passed toward *Springfield*, *pag. 44.*

17. A Village called *Quassigomog* in the middle way between *Marlborough* and *Quabaog*, consisting of about six or seven Houses.

18. *Fer. Bulls*, Garison-house at *Pettiquemset*, surprized, and sundry persons slain; a very great damage to the design then in hand against *Narhagauset Fort*, *pag. 50, 51.*

19. *Canonicus Fort* taken by the Forces of the three Colonies, *Decemb. 19, 1675*, though with the loss of many of the English, 79 being slain right out, and about an 100 wounded; of the enemy were slain by the confession of some prisoners about 300 of their best men; though *Ninicrafts* men who buried the dead there left, speak not of a third part so many, *pag. 51, 52.*

20. *Warwick*, a Town near *Providence* seated upon a neck of land, environed by the sea, was all of it burned by the enemy at several times, the

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the chief mischief there done was upon *March 16, 1676*, and the place wholly deserted by the Inhabitants for a time, yet but one man killed, that was too confident of his safety, as is said.

Providence is the Town next *Warwick*, where were 18 Houses burned, *June 28, 1675*. *March 29* following, fifty-four Houses were there burned, and most of the rest as they were deserted by the Inhabitants withdrawing to *Road-Island*.

Petuxet is another small place within four miles of *Providence*, where were twelve Houses burned in the beginning of *March 1676*, pag. 66, 67. It was by a small brook called *Abbots Run*, that falls into *Paruxet*, (a River near *Providence*) where Captain *Pierce* and his men were slain. *Ibid.*

Bridgewater, a small Town between *Taunton* and *Weymouth*, pag. 68.

21. *Lancaster*, or *Nashaway*, a small Town of about fifty Families, was assaulted *Febr. 10, 1675*, by 500 *Indians* in five several Companies; yet they took but one Garison-house; wherein were forty-two persons, but eight or nine Soldiers, whereof but one escaped; the rest were Women and Children, who were most of them returned after some months Captivity. And to prevent mistakes, let it here be observed, that none of the Women were abused, or murdered, but one that was big with child, unable to travel, and much discontented, whom the *Indians*, having made a great fire, and gathered a Ring about her, first knocked her on the head, after they had pulled off her clothes, then barbarously cast her into the fire. No credit is to be given to any other reports of Cruelty towards any English Woman in that part of the Country.

23. *Groton*, surprized *March 2*, as is related pag. 60, and 61; the place consisting of about 60 Families, was soon after deserted, yet are there 14 or 15 houses left standing to this day, though not inhabited for the present, pag. 73.

25. *Wickford*, where was Mr. *Smith's* house the Rendezvous of our Soldiers, the last Winter, when they spoiled the *Narraganset Fort*.

28. *Medfield*, a midling Town, ten or twelve miles beyond *Dedham*, surprized by the *Indians*; seventeen persons slain, and much of the Town burned, pag. 61, 62.

31. *Marlborough*, a Town ten miles beyond *Sudbury*, in the way to *Connecticut*, the people repairing in time to Garison-houses, were not many of them slain; yet were many or most of their houses burned: that were deserted, *March 26, 1676*.

32. *Sudbury*, a convenient Town, violently assaulted *Apr. 18, 1676*.

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p. 79. by 8 or 900 *Indians* (the Inhabitants speak of 1400) a tripartite company intending to have carried all before them, yet slew but three of the Inhabitants, besides ten or eleven that came to their relief from *Concord*, that were sadly lost for want of good Conduct, *Febr.* 1. 1675. Tho. *Eames* his house at a Farm three miles distant from the Town, his Corn, Cattel, Barns all burned, his Family captivated, the next day his Son's Wife died, *Eames* himself being from home.

33. *Concord*, a considerable Town 5 or 6 miles to the North-west of *Sudbury*; they sustained not much damage in the Town, save only some Farms that were at some distance there-from: two men threshing at a Barn, a young maid set to watch, was carried captive, and the men both slain; the maid strangely escaped soon after, pag. 80.

34. *Chelmsford*, where were many deserted houses burned in the beginning of April 1676, belonging to one *Ed. Colburn*, that had formerly purchased the seat of *Capt. Web.* And to *Samuel Varnham*, who had two Sons slain in the Boat as they were passing the River.

35. *Andover*, a small Town fifteen miles west from *Ipswich*; where also in April was one or two killed, and one taken captive.

36, 37, 38. *Hingham* and *Weymouth*, in each of which was one or two killed, Apr. 19, 1676, in the same month two or three were killed at *Andover*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford*.

39. *Woburn*, where some skulking *Indians*, that had robbed some of their Gardens at *Cambridge*, of *Linnen*, came into a house, killed a Woman and two Children; but being pursued and shot at, as they sat by a Swamp side, they dropped their bundle of *Linnen*, in which was found vvrapt up the scalp of one or both the Children.

40. *Casco*, a large Bay scatteringly inhabited and full of Islands, where Sept. 1675, Mr. *Purchase* his house was plundered.

Sept. 9, following *Wakely's* House and Family was spoiled.

12. ditto. Two Houses burned of Mr. *Mountjoy's*, and two young men slain as they were fowling.

19. One slain at *Blew-point*, another wounded, so as he died the next day.

20. A Man and his Wife slain.

Octob. 19. following, 11 or 12 houses burned at *Scarborough* a place not far from *Casco*, with 500 bushels of Corn in Barns.

Octob. 9. *Lieut. Angur* mortally wounded, and his Brother slain; and two more wounded.

10. ditto. *Henry Williams* sorely wounded on *Sawco* sands or Dovens, marvelously escaped from two *Indians* passing to *Black-point*.

13. *Capt.*

The Table.

13. Capt. *Wincol*, that came to relieve *Black point*, had two of his men slain, and two more with an Inhabitant wounded; himself and his Party engaged the same day with an hundred *Indians* or more, yet was delivered by the shelter of an heap of Bolts: But nine men coming to their relief from *Sawco*, were all slain on the *Downs* the same day: *Thomas Rogers*, one of the nine, his House burned the next day. *Part.2. page 25, 26.*

15. Lieutenant *Alcock* of *Kittery* buried them.

16. ditto, The Body of *Winter harbour* Houses were fired by the Enemy; three men slain, and one woman carried away.

17. Six Houses fired on the North-side of *Sawco River*.

18. Six or seven Houses fired by the Enemy at *Sawco* by night, which were the first that were fired in the night-time.

50. *Sawco*, where Major *Philips* his Habitation was, assaulted, *Sept. 18, 1675. page 16, 17.*

The 3d of *November*, twenty of the Inhabitants of *Scarborough*, or *Black-Point*, were set upon by sixty *Indians*, by whom they had been destroyed, but the Ensign *Tipping*, the week before, sent from *Boston* for the relief of that place, came seasonably to their relief.

6. ditto, A *Boston* Soldier was mortally wounded: several Houses that day burned; yet were they by the valour of the English beaten into Swamps, but what number of them was slain, is uncertain.

21. Two Houses more burnt at *Sawco*.

51. *Wells*, Where two or three were killed, *Part 2. page. 26.*

55. *Falmouth*, on the hither side of *Casca Bay*, where *August 11*, about thirty four persons were killed and taken by the *Indians*, p. 32, 33, 34

54. *Spurwinck*, and *Richmonds Island*, where Mr. *Friers Ketch*, with ten men, was taken, *Octob. 11, 1676, Part 2. page 45, 46.*

47. *York*: At *Cape Nidduck*, belonging thereunto, were seven barbarously murdered, *Sept. 25, 1676. Part 2. page 51.*

58. *Totonnock Fort*, which lies up *Kennibeck River*, whither the *Indians* are said to have fled, when Major *Walden* arrived there with his Soldiers in *Eebruary* last, 1676; and from whence the Enemy came down when they seized the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, and *Arowsick Island*, *Aug. 11, 1676*, which is situate in the mouth of the said River.

It is reported by some of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, lately fled, or rather driven from thence, that about five years since, four English men were slain by the *Amoroscoggin Indians*, up *Pegypscot River*, that runs into *Kennibeck*; but it was concealed by the wicked Traders of those parts, for fear of discovering their wicked manner of Trading with the

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Heathens; which if it had been duly enquired into, when it was first done, much of what followed might have been prevented;

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra Fames?*

But such Gains have proved like *Aurum Tholousanum* to some of the Inhabitants of those parts.

Kennibeck, How taken and when, *Part 2. page 41*; there is said to be about fifty three killed and taken about *Kennibeck*, and at *Arounsick-Island. Aug. 13. 1676.*

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C Concerning the *Narhaganset*, this is further to be added here, That Mr. *Thomas Stanton*, and his son *Robert*, who having a long time lived amongst them, and best acquainted with their language and manners of any in *New-England*, do affirm, that to their knowledg the *Narhaganset* Sachims, before the late troubles, had two thousand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms; yet are they at this day so broken and scattered, that there is none of them left on that side of the Country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in number, that have sheltered themselves under the Inhabitants of *Road-Island*, as a Merchant of that place worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the Writer hereof. It is considerable by what degrees they have been consumed and destroyed.

The first week in *April* last, viz. 1676, *Canonchet* their chief Sachim, having with this people been driven out of his own Country by the sword of the English the winter before, breathed still nothing but rage and cruelty against them, bearing himself upon his great numbers: yet as appeared in the issue, himself and they that escaped with him, were not so much preserved from the present calamity that befell the rest in their Fort, as reserved to another and more ignominious death. For all the whole Body of the *Indians* to the Westward trusting under the shadow of the aspiring Bramble; he took a kind of care of them upon himself: Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting: he propounded it in his Council, That all the West-plantations upon *Conneticut River*, taken from the English, should this last Summer be planted with *Indian-corn*; vvhich was indeed in it self a very prudent consideration: To that end he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men (the rest declining it) to fetch a seed-corn from *Seaconk*, the next town to *Mount hope*; leaving a Body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him, or meet him about *Seaconk* the week after. This Adventure brought him into the snare, from vvhence he could not escape: For Capt. *George Denison* of *Stonington*, and Capt. *Avery* of *New-London*, having raised forty seven English, the most part Volunteers,

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with eighty *Indians*, twenty of which were *Narhagansets* belonging to *Ninegret*, commanded by one called *Catapazer*. The rest *Pequods*, under *Casasinnamon*, and *Mohegins* under *Oneco*, Son to *Uncas*, being now abroad upon their third Expedition, which they began *March* the twenty seventh, 1676, and ended on the tenth of *April* following. They met vvith a stout *Indian* of the Enemies, whom they presently slew, and two old *Squaws*, that confessed *Nanunttenoo*, alias *Canunchat* (those chief *Sachims* usually changing their names at every great Dance, and by that name of *Nanunttenoo* was he then known), was not far off; which welcom News put new Life into the wearied Soldiers, that had travelled hard many days, and met with no Booty till now; especially, when it was confirmed by Intelligence the same instant, brought in by their Scouts, that they met with new Tracts which brought them in view of some Wigwams not far from *Patucket*, by some called *Black-stones-River*, in one of which the said *Sachim* was at that moment divertizing himself, with the recital of Captain *Pierces* slaughter, surprized by his men a few days before; but the Alarm of the English at that time heard by himself, put by that Discourse, apalled with the suddenness thereof, as if he had been informed by secret Item from Heaven, that now his own turn was come: so as having but seven men about him, he sent up two of them to the top of the Hill to see what the matter was; but they affrighted with the near approach of the English, at that time with great speed mounted over a fair *Champagn* on the other side of the Hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they saw; presently he sent a third, who did the like; then sending two more on the same Errand, one of these last either indued with more Courage, or a better sense of his Duty, informed him in great haste that all the English Army vvvas upon him: whereupon, having no time to consult, and but little to attempt an escape, and no means to defend himself; he began to dodg with his Pursuers, running round the Hill on the contrary side; but as he was running so hastily by, *Catapazat* with twenty of his followers, and a few of the English, light of foot, guessed by the swiftness of his motion, that he fled as if an Enemy, which made them immediately take the Chase after him, as for their lives; he that was the swifter pursuer, put him so hard to it, that he cast off first his Blanket, then his Silver-lac'd Coat (given him at *Boston* as a pledg of their friendship, upon the renewal of his League in *October* before), and *Belt* of *Peag*, which made *Catapazat* conclude it vvvas the right Bird, vvwhich made them pursue as eagerly as the other fled; so as they forced him to take the water, through which as he over hastily plunged, his foot slipping upon a stone, it made him

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him fall into the water so deep, as it wetted his Gun, upon which Accident, he confessed soon after, that his heart and his bowels turned within him, so as he became like a rotten-stick, void of strength; insomuch, as one *Monopoide* a *Pequod*, swiftest of foot, laid hold of him within thirty Rod of the River side, without his making any resistance; though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body; one of the first English that came up with him, was *Robert Stanton*, a young man that scarce had reached the twenty second year of his Age, yet adventuring to ask him a question or two, to whom this manly Sachim looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replied in broken English; you much Child, no understand matters of War; let your Brother, or your chief come, him I will Answer, and was as good as his word; Acting herein, as if by a *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*, some old Roman Ghost had possessed the body of this Western Pagan: And like *Attilius Regulus*, he would not accept of his own Life, when it was tendred him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old Counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying, he knew the *Indians* would not yield; but more probably he was not willing they should, chusing rather to sacrifice his own, and his peoples lives to his private humour of Revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their safety, by entertaining the Counsels of a Peace, so necessary for the general good of all; He continuing in the same his obstinate Resolution, was carried soon after to *Stonington*, where he was shot to death by some of his own quality, *sc.* the young Sachim of the *Mohicans*, and two of the *Pequods* of like quality. This was the confusion of a damned wretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the Name of the living God, and those that make profession thereof. He was told at large of his breach of Faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a *Wampanoog*, or the paring of a *Wampanoogs* nail; that he would burn the English alive in their houses; to which he replied, others were as forward for the War as himself; and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his Sentence was to dye, he said, he liked it well, that he should dye before his heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to death, that the killing him would not end the War; but it was a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least not in those parts; For after *Sudbury* fight, when the Sun of their hopes was at its highest, April the 18th following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared.

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The Inhabitants of *New-London*, *Normich*, and *Stonington*, apprehensive of their danger by reason of the near bordering of the Enemy, & upon other prudent considerations, voluntarily listed themselves under some able Gentlemen, and Resolute Soldiers amongst themselves, Major *Palmes*, Captain *George Denison*, Captain *Avery*, with whom, or under whom, within the compass of the year, 1676, they made ten or more several Expeditions, in all which, at those several times they killed and took two hundred and thirty nine of the Enemy, by the help and assistance of the *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, and a few friendly *Narbagansets*. Besides thirty taken in the long march homeward, after the Fort fight, *December* the 19th, 1675, and besides sixteen captived in the second Expedition, not reckoned within the compass of the said Number: together with Fifty Guns; and spoiling the Enemy of 700 Bushels of Corn.

In *January* they went again in pursuit, and took five men and a Boy. Certain *Nipnets* intended to have sheltered themselves under *Uncas*; but he perceiving it would be distastful to the English, soon shab'd them off; so as they were in the beginning of the Winter brought into *Boston*, many of them by *Peter Ephraim*, and *Andrew Pityme*, with their Fellows.

In all which Exploits, neither they, nor any of their Followers sustained any loss by the Sword of the Enemy, or sickness: As is expressly declared by the Reverend Minister of *Stonington*, Mr. *James Noyce*, which is a matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such signal testimonies of Divine favour, to be ready to pay their Vows to the most High, who alone teacheth the hands of his people to War, and their fingers to fight.

But the greatest blow given to the *Narbagansets* was by *Connecticut* Forces under Major *Talcot*, *July* the second, as is related, *Part 1. Page 97.*

Amongst the rest of the Prisoners then taken, was a young sprightly Fellow, seized by the *Mohegins*; who desired of the English Commanders that he might be delivered into their hands, that they might put him to death, *more majorum*; sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which brutish and devillish passion they are most of all delighted: The English though not delighted in blood, yet at this time were not unwilling to gratifie their humour, lest by a denial they might disoblige their *Indian* friends, of whom they lately made so much use: Partly also that they might have an ocular demonstration of the salvage, barbarous cruelty of these Heathen: And indeed, of all the Enemies that have been the Subjects of the precedent discourse; This Villain did most deserve to become an object of justice and severity: For he boldly told them, that he had with his Gun dispatched Nineteen English, and that he had charged

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charged it for the twentieth; but not meeting with any of ours, and unwilling to lose a fair shot, he had let fly at a *Mohegis*, and kill'd him; with which, having made up his number, he told them he was fully satisfied. But as is usually said, Justice *Vindictive* hath Iron hands, though Leaden feet: This cruel Monster is fallen into their power, that will repay him seven-fold: In the first place therefore, making a great Circle, they placed him in the middle, that all their eyes might at the same time, be pleased with utmost Revenge upon him; They first cut one of his fingers round in the joynt, at the Trunck of his hand, with a sharp knife, and then brake it off, as men use to do with a slaughtered Beast, before they uncase him; then they cut off another & another, till they had dismembred one hand of all its digits, the blood sometimes spirting out in streams a yard from his hand, which barbarous and unheard of cruelty, the English were not able to bear, it forcing tears from their Eyes; yet did not the sufferer ever relent, or shew any sign of anguish: For being asked by some of his tormentors, how he liked the War? He might have replied, as the Scotch Gentleman did after the loss of a Battel, that being asked how he liked the match, *sc.* with our Prince of *Wales*, (which then was the occasion of the quarrel) made Answer, he liked the match well enough, but no whit liked the manner of the wooing written by such Lines of blood; but this unsensible and hard-hearted Monster Answered, He liked it very well, and found it as sweet, as English men did their Sugar. In this frame he continued, till his Executioners had dealt with the Toes of his feet, as they had done with the Fingers of his hands; all the while making him dance round the Circle, and sing, till he had wearied both himself and them: At last they brake the bones of his Legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which 'tis said he silently did, till they had knockt out his brains. Instances of this nature should be Incentive unto us, to bless the Father of Lights, who hath called us out from the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty. When the Day-spring from on high shall visit those that sit in this Region of darkness, another Spirit will be poured upon them, and then the feet of them that bring the glad tidings of Gospel-Salvation will appear more beautiful to them than at present they seem to do. And when these Mountains of Prey shall become the holy Mountain of the Lord, they shall neither hurt, nor destroy, nor exercise cruelty therein.

Moreover in the beginning of *April* 1677, certain Intelligence came from *Pascataqua*, That some strange *Indians* had fallen upon Major *Walderns Indians*, and destroyed several of them.

It is also informed, that the *Indians* of *Kennibek* have lately surprized

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Five or six of the Soldiers by an Ambush, as they were about to have buried some of the bodies of their Friends, slain in those parts before the last Winter: And that they had the last week done the like mischief to such a number of the Inhabitants of *Black-point*, which is a solemn Pre-
fage of another Storm like to fall upon those Eastern parts, unless God prevent, this Summer ensuing.

For the further satisfaction of the Reader concerning the perfidiousness and falseness of our Enemies, and the Justice of our Cause, we shall close this Narrative with the Articles which *Philip*, Sachim of *Paukamaket*, or *Mount-hope*, subscribed in the year, 1671.

WE *PHILIP* and my Council and my Subjects, do acknowledge our selves Subject to His *MAJESTY* the King of England, and the Government of New-Plimouth, and to their Laws.

2. I am willing, and do promise to pay unto the Government of Plimouth, One hundred pounds in such things as I have: but I would intreat the favour that I might have Three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

3. I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, Five Wolves heads, if I can get them: or as many as I can procure, until they come to Five Wolves yearly.

4. If any difference fall between the English and my self, and People, then I do promise to repair to the Governor of Plimouth, to rectifie the difference amongst us.

5. I do promise not to make War with any, but with the Governors approbation of Plimouth.

6. I promise, not to dispose of any of the Lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Governor of Plimouth.

For the true performance of the premises of the said Sachim, *Philip* of *Paukamaket*, do hereby bind my self, and such of my Council as are present, our selves, our Heirs, our Successors, faithfully, and to promise, in witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the Day and Year above Written;

In the presence of the Court and divers of the Magistrates and other Gentlemen of the Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The mark P of Philip, the Sachim of Paukamaket.

The mark [of Uncompaen.

The mark [of Wolokom.

The mark 7 of Sankama.

FINIS.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TROUBLES
WITH THE
INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND,

From Pascataqua to Pemmaquid.



THE Occasion, Rise and Progress of the War with the *Indians* in the Southern and Western parts of *New-England*, together with the Issue and Success thereof, hath in the former part of this *Narrative* been already declared. Before an Entrance be made into a Relation of those Troubles that befell the Eastern and Northern parts of the said Country from the *Indians* inhabiting those parts; It will be requisite to give some general Description of the place, as being less frequented, and so more unknown than the other; like Heralds that use to Blazon the Field before they meddle with the charge, as an Historian once said; that so the Reader may not miss the truth in Story, by being unacquainted with the places whereon the Discourse proceedeth. Briefly therefore, that more cost and pains be not spent in the surveying a barren and Rocky Country, than will quit cost; The List or Border here being known to be more worth than the whole Cloth; That whole Tract of Land, being of little worth, unless it were for the Borders thereof upon the Sea-coast, and some spots and Skirts of more desirable Land upon the Banks of some Rivers, how much soever it be valued by them that know nothing thereof,

A

2 *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*

thereof, but by the uncertain and fallible Reports of such as have only sailed by the Country, or viewed some of the Rivers and Havens, but never passed through the heart of the Continent. The whole being scarce worth half those mens lives that have been lost these two last years, in hope to save it.

This North part of *New-England*, did first like *Zarah*, put forth its hand, thereby inviting the Adventurers to twist the *Scarlet Thred* of their hopes about the same: by that Auspicious beginning, they were ready to promise themselves great prosperity, in having that Advantage before others, to plant and people that part of the Country.

But that fair opportunity was almost quite lost, by some Fatal and mischievous Accidents happening soon after that Noble Enterprize was first set a-foot, as hath been already in part, and may hereafter more fully be declared.

The first place that ever was possessed by the English, in hope of making a Plantation in those parts, was a Tract of Land on the West-side of the River of *Kennibeck*, then called *Sagatawocke*, since *Saga-de-hocke*: other places adjoining were soon after seized, and improved for Trading and Fishing. The more remote and furthest Northward, at this time belonging to the English (*Penobscot*, forty years since being surprized by the French, and by them held at this day) is called *Pemmaquid*) distant seven or eight Leagues from *Kennibeck*, and is the utmost boundary of *New England*, being about forty Leagues distant from the mouth of *Pascataqua River*. That *Pemmaquid* is a very commodious Haven for Ships, and hath been found very advantageous to such as use to come upon these Coasts to make Fishing-voyages; South-west, or South-east from whence, about six or seven leagues lies an Island called *Monhiggon*, of much use on the same account for fishing, it lying three or four Leagues into the Sea from *Damarils Cove* (a place of like Advantage for the Stages of Fishermen in former times). There have been for a long time seven or eight considerable dwellings about *Pemmaquid*, which is well accommodated with Pasture-land about the Haven for feeding Cattel, and some Fields also for Tillage; All the Land improvable for such uses, being already taken up by such a number of Inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the mouth of the River of *Kennibeck* lies a considerable Island called *Arowsick*, some years since purchased by Major *Clark*, and Capt. *Lake*, two Merchants of *Boston*: on which they built several large dwellings with a Warehouse, and many other Edifices near the water-side, it being intended by the Owners for a place of Trading, as well as plant-

planting; there being many of late seated there, fit to carry on each design; where also was built a Fort, which if it had been carefully defended, might have proved the defence and security of all that side of the Country, as it used to be their Magazine up higher beyond the River of *Kennibeck*. Four Leagues Eastward toward *Pemmaquid*, is another considerable River called *Ships Coat*, upon the Banks of which were many scattered Planters: who lately flying from their dwellings for fear of the *Indians*, left, as was judged, a thousand head of Neat Cattel for the use of the *Indians* that made the late Insurrection against the Inhabitants of those parts, besides the Fields and Barns full of Corn.

There is another River that issues into *Kennibeck*, a little higher up into the Country, called *Pegypscot*, that comes down from behind *Casco Bay*. This *Pegypscot* is the seat of the *Amoscogging Indians*, who have had a great, if not the principal hand in the late mischiefs.

Some few Leagues to the South of *Kennibeck*, lies that famous and spacious Haven called *Casco Bay*: The North-east Cape of which is made by an Island called *Saguin*; The Southern or opposite point of Land is called *Cape Elizabeth*, which is in the Bosom of this Bay, being about eight or nine Leagues over at the mouth of it, and abundance of small Islands, many of them being inhabited by Fishermen, and others: one of the principal of that sort, is called *Jewels Island*. There are many places about this Bay, fit to make commodious Habitations; and on the South-side of it, is a small Village called *Falmouth*; All, or most of it, lately destroyed by the *Indians*.

Not far from *Casco* to the Southward, or South-west, still is a River called *Spurwinks*, over against which lies *Richmond Island*, not far from the main Land, being divided therefrom by a small Channel foordable at Low-water; It hath for a long time been the seat of Mr. *Jordan*, in right of Mr. *Winter*, the former, if not the first Proprietor thereof, whose Daughter he married.

The next Plantation Southward is called *Scarborough*, a small Village seated upon *Black-point*; over against which is another Point, for distinction from the former called *Blue-point*: This *Black-point*, was lately the Seat of Mr. *Josselin*, being a parcel of the Province of *Maine*, or falling within the Precincts thereof, and was formerly by Patent granted to the said *Josselin* or his Predecessors, since purchased by Mr. *Scotto* of *Boston*.

Saco River lies next in order to *Pascataqua*, a Navigable River; where Major *Philips* had a commodious Scituation lately; at the mouth of which River lies *Winter-Harbour*, encompassed on one side by a

Neck of Land, formerly the Propriety of one Mr. *Winter*, whose Name it still retains, but lately purchased by Major *Penaletton*, where he enjoyed a very comfortable Seat and Habitation.

There is another Harbour lying a little Southward of *Saco*, made by that which is called *Cape Corpuisse*, a convenient Seat for Fishermen, as are most of the other places above-named. Between *Cape Porpuisse* and *Pascataqua*, there are but two small Towns more (though ambitious of great Names) the one called *Wells*, the other *York*: *Wells* is seated upon a small River or Creek, affording a small Harbour fit only for Barks and smaller Vessels: on each side of which Town lies a small River, the first called *Kennibunk*, the second *Maguncuck*: the other Town is called *York*, formerly known by the Name of *Agamenticus*, from an high Hill of that Name, not far off therefrom. The point of Land which lies between the said Towns, is called *Cape Nidduck*, making a small Harbour likewise, into which issues another pretty River, on the Banks of which is situate the Town of *York*. All or most of forementioned Towns and Plantations are seated upon, and near some River greater or lesser, whose streams are principally improved for the driving of Saw-Mills: Those late Inventions, so useful for the destruction of Wood and Timber, specially of Fir-trees, which no doubt so abound in those Coasts, that there is scarce a River or Creek in those parts that hath not some of those Engines erected upon them.

The upper Branches of the famous River of *Pascataqua*, being also employed all of them that way: namely, *Sturgeon-Creek*, *Salmon Falls*, *Newechewannik*, *Quechecho*, *Oyster-River*, *Swamscot*, *Greenland*, *Lamprey-Eele-River*, together with the Towns of *Exeter* and *Dover*, seated upon, or near some of the main Branches thereof, whose principal Trade is in Deal-Boards, cut by those Saw-Mills, since their Rift Timber is near all consumed. On each side of that brave Navigable River of *Pascataqua* down towards the mouth of it, are seated on the North-side the Town of *Kittary* (a long scattering Plantation made up of several Hamlets): on the South-side the Town of *Portsmouth*, to which belongs the great Island, lying in the mouth of the said River, a place of considerable Trade these late years, the vvhich together with *Straberry-Bank*, the upper part of the said Town of *Portsmouth*, are the Magazine, and chief or only place of Commerce and Trade for all the Plantations, betwixt it and *Casco Bay*: All the said Plantations have in these last two years, viz. 1675, 1676, felt more or less of the Rage and Cruelty of the barbarous and perfidious *Indians* belonging to that side of the Country, as shall more particularly be declared in what

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follows, after a short discourse of the first planting that side of the Country which may serve as a kind of Prologue to the following Tragedy.

This part of *New-England* began first to be planted about the same time with *Virginia*, viz. in the year 1606. There the first Letters Patents granted by the King for the Limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 44 Degrees of North Latitude, and was divided into two parts, namely the first and the second Colony; The former was appropriated to the City of *London*, the other to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, each of which had Laws, Privileges, and Authority for the Government and advancing their several Plantations alike, as saith Capt. *Smith* in his general History of *Virginia* and *New-England*. This second Colony of *New-England* promising but little advantage to the undertakers, by reason of its Mountainous and Rocky Scituation, found but few Adventurers forward to promote the planting thereof, after the death of Sir *John Popham*, who was the first that ever procured men or means to possess it; for when the main Pillars are removed, what can be expected but that the whole building should fall to the ground? Yet, notwithstanding the discouragements the first Planters met withal in their first Winter seasoning, in that cold and Rocky desert (which made them all return home in the year 1608) did Sir *Francis Popham* his Son, having the Ships and Provision which remained of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, send divers times to the Coasts for Trade and Fishing, of whose loss or gain, as saith my Author, himself was best able to give account. And some of the Ships sent by him, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with other Noble Adventurers, did bring home a son of the Natives of the place in one of the next following years, by whose Informations, some of the first undertakers were encouraged once more to try the verity of their hopes, and see if possibly they might find something that could induce a fresh resolution to prosecute so pious and honourable a work.

But in the mean time before there was yet any speech or endeavour to settle any other Plantation in those parts, That about *Sagadahock* being thus abandoned for the present by the first Undertakers, the *Frenchmen* immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits, which being understood by those of *Virginia*, they discreetly taking into their consideration the inconveniences that might arise by suffering them to harbor there, Sir *Samuel Argal* was sent with Commission to displace them, which he with great discretion, dexterity,

terity and judgment performed about the year 1613. The which made way for the Plantation at *Nova Scotia*, granted afterwards by King *James* to Sir *William Alexander*, one of his Majesties most Honourable Council of *Scotland*. The said *Argal* seized the Forts which the *Frenchmen* had built at Mount *Mansel*, St. *Croix*, and *Port Real*, and carried away their Ordnance, with other Provisions, to the Colony of *Virginia*, to their great Benefit. The said places were held by the English divers years after, till about the year 1635, by Commission from the Scotch Lord aforesaid; but how his right came afterwards to be alienated to any of the *French Nation*, doth not concern us with Reference to the business in hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this posture for the space of near Seven years, some of the first Adventurers apprehensive of better hopes of good that might ensue by a fresh attempt, resolved to set the design a foot a second time; to which end, several Ships were sent on that account in the year 1615, but with as bad success as the former; for in the year before, viz. 1614, Capt. *Smith* desirous to promote the Colony of *New England*, as well as that of *Virginia*, came thither with Two Vessels, and returned back to *England* in the lesser of them, with intent to be there again that next year, to promote the said Plantation; But after he was gone, one *Thomas Hunt* Master of the Ship, he left behind, like a wicked Varlet, to prevent the carrying on the Plantation, that he and a few Merchants might wholly enjoy the benefit of the Trade of the Country, after he had made his Voyage, seized upon Four and twenty of the poor Innocent Natives, that in confidence of his honesty, had put themselves into his hands, then clapping them under Hatches, carried them away to *Malego*, whither he was bound with the Fish he had made upon the Coast, for that Market: But this vile act, although it kept him for ever after from any more employment in those parts, yet that was the least part of the mischief that attended his wicked practice; for upon the Arrival of the Adventurers Ships the next year; Two Natives of the place that had been some years in *England*, and coming back unto the said Ships, as soon as they understood the injury so treacherously done to their Countrymen, they contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, that although one of the said Natives dyed soon after, yet the other called *Epenow*, studied how to be Revenged, which he so far found means to effect, that he frustrated this second Attempt of settling a Plantation in these parts.

Yet did not the Adventurers cast off all hope of carrying on their design, wherein Providence within a few years after so favoured them, that

that one or more of the Salvages called *Tisquantum* and *Samoset*, carried away by *Hunt*, was brought back to *New-found Land*, from whence he was soon after conveyed by the prudent endeavour of Capt. *Mason* (then Governor of the Plantation begun upon *New-found Land*) into the hands of some of the Adventurers, by whose means they hoped to work a peace betwixt the said Natives on that Coast where the fire had been kindled before; for the Adventurers employed Capt. *Thomas Darmer*, a prudent and industrious Gentleman, to settle the affairs of the Plantation, now a third time revived again about *Kennibek*, in the year 1619, or thereabouts. By his prudence and care a lasting peace was made betwixt the Natives of the place, and the English, who were but a little before so abhorred by them, for the wrong formerly received: so as the Plantation began at last to prosper, and continue in good liking, and assurance of the Friendship of their Neighbours, that had been lately so exasperated against them. This *Tisquantum* forementioned, was not a little instrumental and helpful to the plantation begun at *New-Plimouth* about the following year, viz. 1620. In their weak beginnings, there being frequent mention of his Name, as also of one *Samoset*, a Native of the same place, by the like Providence brought back to *Kennibek*, and from thence with *Tisquantum* came to the New-planters at *Patuxet*, or *Plimouth*, and brought them into acquaintance with *Massasoit*, the great Sachim about those parts; without whose Friendship that New Plantation would hardly have subsisted long.

This Story premised is the more to be minded in this place, because the Friendship upon the means and occasions aforesaid, confirmed betwixt the *Indians* in these Eastern parts, and the English, had continued stedfast and constant to this year, when it was broken by another treacherous and wicked practice of a like nature, and parallel to that of the forefaid *Hunt*: As may more fully be declared afterwards.

Possibly the like satisfaction may prove the more probable means to procure a settled peace. But to return, whence this Digression hath been made. Some years were spent to bring things to this Issue: The Adventurers were put to much care and pains before they could get their Patent confirmed, and Renewed again; many obstructions they met withal from some Interlopers that began to look into the Trade of this Country, and would irregularly have had a share therein, or made it common to all Traders, to which End they petitioned to a Parliament then called, to bring about their Ends; but at the last it was settled firmly in the hands of sundry Noble and worthy Patentees, Lords, Knights,

Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, commonly known by the Name of the Council of *Plimouth*, who had the absolute power under the King, for making all Grants, and disposing of all Lands from the 40th to the 48th Degrees of North Latitude; All which was accomplished about the year 1621. Some printed Relations that speak of these Transactions, write much of the flourishing state, and hopeful prosperity of this Plantation, published about Forty or fifty years since, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any considerable Advantage did ever accrue to the first undertakers from this their New-Plantation of the Eastern parts, unless by the Trade of Fish, and Furs, which latter continued not long; As for the former, The chief benefit redounded only to them that managed it by their own particular Stocks, and personal endeavours: And if without offence it may be spoken, the multitude of Patents soon after granted to several Gentlemen of broken Fortunes, have provided but places of an honourable Exile or Confinement, whither many deserving persons of better Education than Fortune, were put to shift for themselves in a Foreign Land, without being further troublesome to those nearer home, on whom they had their hopes and dependance; yet it must not be denied but that some of the undertakers were at vast expences, casting their Bread upon these waters, where none of their Friends & Relations have as yet had opportunity to find it.

The Reason of which is not hard to give, in reference to all those Lands and Territories that lye to the Eastward of *Pascataqua River*. One main Cause hath been the multiplicity of Grants and Patents for the dividing of the said Tract of Land: for besides the strife that hath been occasioned by the Intricacy and indistinctness of their Liberties and Bounds (enough to have maintained a greater number of Lawyers, than ever were the Inhabitants) If the Grantees had been supplied with monies proportionable to their Suits and Controversies about their bounds and Jurisdictions, which sometimes they have been ready to decide with their Swords, witness those fatal Names imposed on such accounts upon some places belonging to those parts, as *Bloody point*, *Black and Blew point*, and every considerable parcel of Land being by Patent granted to several particular persons, hindered the erecting of Townships and Villages, which if it had been otherwise disposed of, might have been full of Towns, and well peopled, and thereby the Inhabitants had been able to have stood upon their Guard, and defended themselves against the common Enemy; whereas now they were but like *scoppe dissolute*, or like his Arrows that being bound up in one bundle, could not be broken by an ordinary Force; but being loose, were easily snapt asunder

asunder, by any single hand. Another reason might be, the imploying of such *Agents* and *Instruments* as either wanted skill or fidelity to manage what they were *trusted with*, which made many of the *Adventurers* long ago complain, that (instead of *Bills of Exchange*, & other Returns which they expected) they received nothing but large *Inventories* of the wants of their several Plantations, and the servants sent over to improve them, which were all the Returns that many of them ever received for the large sums of money many disbursed for the carrying on their affairs.

A third reason may be the several Changes of Government the Inhabitants have passed under, which have occasioned not only much vexation & expences to such as were upon the place; but much discouragement to several others, who by the commodiousness of the Seat, would willingly have chosen Station in those parts, had they seen any hope of a settled Government ever like to have been obtained; which is not hard to demonstrate, by giving a little touch as we pass along, on the several changes of Government, the places forementioned have been moulded into, and the several Proprietors that of late have claimed Interest in the Land. In the year 1624, a Patent was granted by the Council of *Plimouth* the grand Proprietors, to Capt. *Mason* for a large tract of Land about *Pascataqua*; but it not being distinctly bounded, himself with Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, obtained a joint Patent in the year 1639, for the Land betwixt *Saga de Hock* East, and *Naum Keag* West; but that also interfering with the bounds granted before that time to sundry Gentlemen & Merchants that had obtained a Patent from the South of *Charles River* to the Northward of *Merrimack*; Capt. *Mason's* bounds were afterwards by consent (as is said) of his Agent or Agents, reduced to some branches about *Pascataqua River* (who yet could not agree with those that acted in the name of *Shrewsbury* men) but being wholly neglected by the pretended Proprietor or his successors (till of late days) was by the desire of the Inhabitants yielded up to the *Massachus.* Government, near 20 years since.

In the year 1630, a Patent was granted by the said Council of *Plimouth*, (signed by the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, and sealed with the common Seal of the Council aforesaid) to *John Dye*, *Thomas Lupe*, *Grace Harding*, and *John Roach* of *London*, for a large tract of Land on the South of *Saga de Hock* forty mile square by the Sea-side, and so up into the Country: *John Dye* aforesaid, and his Partners took in another as Partner and Associate with them, Mr. *Richard Dummer* of *Newbury* in *New-England*, in the year 1638, to whom they delivered the Original Patent, with an order from them and in their Name, to take up the Land described in the Patent; but he being denied opportunity

tunity to effect it, as also a Ship formerly sent by the Patentees for that End, not accomplishing their desire, they not long after sold all their Interest in the said Patent, to one Mr. *Rigby* a *Lancashire* Gentleman, who made Mr. *Cleaves* his Agent to manage the business of his purchased Interest in the said Patent: To whom Mr. *Dummer* was ordered to deliver the Original Patent, which accordingly he did: What trouble was occasioned soon after between the said Mr. *Cleaves* and Mr. *Vines* Agent for Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, is well known to the Inhabitants of the place, and need not be here mentioned; nor yet how the said Mr. *Rigby* came afterward to lose his Interest (at least with the Inhabitants) in the Patent.

In the year 1632, Sir *Ferd. Gorges* not resting in the joint Patent obtained for himself and Capt. *Mason*, obtained a distinct Patent for himself, and got it confirmed by King *Charles* the first of blessed and famous memory for all that large Tract of Land from *Saga de-Hock* to *Pascataqua* River, and so about an 100 miles up into the Country, by the name of the Province of *Maine*. What benefit and improvement was ever made thereof by his Agents or Successors, is best known to themselves: But for the Inhabitants, who upon one account or another had been induced, either by any *precedaneous* grant or liberty from himself, or his Agents, to take up any Land within the bounds of the said Province; they finding much inconvenience and trouble for want of an orderly and settled Government, did at the last Petition the General Court of the *Massachusetts* to be taken under their Jurisdiction and Government (reserving the Liberties and Priviledges of their former Purchases and Grants, as to *Title, Possession and Propriety*, to themselves) which was granted them, though not only and altogether upon the grounds on which it was desired by the Petitioners. Yet notwithstanding all this, were not things settled either to the comfort or content of the Inhabitants: for sometimes some demanded Right or Jurisdiction over them by virtue of Sir *Ferdinando's* Patent, sometimes Commissioners employed by his *Highness the Duke of York*, attempted to settle a Government amongst the People; sometimes they tried what might be done by Agreement amongst themselves: but after their return for *England*, by one means or other, the Government relapsed again into the hands of the *Massachusetts*, although a *Supersedeas* thereunto seems to have been put by an Order from his Majesty this last year.

By these several *Vicissitudes* and changes of Government, the flourishing of the said Province hath been much obstructed, which else might have been much advanced, and the Inhabitants been put into a capacity

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to have secured themselves against the late Barbarous Incursions of the *Indians*; and possibly those Exorbitancies that many of the present Proprietors have run into, to the just provocation of the *Indians*, might thereby have been prevented, and so the mischief also which hath ensued, might thereby have been averted: For a well ordered Government would never have suffered those things that now were connived at, which if they had been timely lookt into by such as had absolute or positive and unquestioned power of Rule in their hands, would have been otherwise ordered, the present mischief that is come upon those places, might thereby have been, if not prevented, yet more easily redressed, than now is like to be.

As for the Tract of Land that lies Eastward beyond *Kennibek*, betwixt that and *Pemmaquid*, it is said to have belonged to one Mr. *Aldworth* and his Successors, who was Alderman of *Bristol* and one that had a Patent thereof, and imployed some as his Agents, that did sometimes reside upon the place; and was lately settled in some order of Government by his *Highness* the *Duke of York's* Commissioners, by whom also was an Agreement made betwixt the *Sagamores* of the *Indians* in those parts, and the *English*, at a Court kept by their Appointment in *Kennibek*, which if it had been observed, might in all probability have prevented in great measure the quarrel which is now saln out betwixt the *English* and the said *Indians*: For upon some Jealousies of the Rising of those *Indians* about 12 or 13 years since, it was agreed, That if any mischief should happen to be done by the *English* or *Indians* one against another, though it were to the killing any person, neither side should right themselves, but complaint should be made to the *Sagamores* if the *Indians* did the wrong, and to the *Court* if it were done by the *English*. Both which did promise satisfaction should be made for the preventing any quarrel; the Names of the *Sachims*, as likewise of them that were in power at the Court, do still remain upon publick Record. But matters of Government in those parts being since *collapsed*, no Authority more than what was meerly voluntary and perswasive being owned, things are now brought to that sad state, which follows next to be declared.

Ever since the first settling of any *English* Plantation in those parts about *Kennibek* for the space of above 50 years, the *Indians* always carried it fair, and held good Correspondence with the *English*, until the News came of *Philip's* Rebellion, and Rising against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth* Colony in the end of *June* 1675. After which time, it was apprehended by such as had the Examination of the *Indians* about *Kennibek*, that there was a general surmise amongst them, that they should

be required to assist the said *Philip*, although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the Quarrel. The like Jealousie did appear in all the *Indians* that inhabited to the Eastward of *Pascataqua*, which plainly shews that there was a design of a general Rising of the *Indians* against the *English*, all over the Country, (possibly as far as *Virginia*, the *Indians* there making Insurrection the same year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the elder and wiser of them liked it not, fearing the issue, as they had cause: But many of the young men about *Casco Bay*, and *Amonoscoggan* were certainly known to flock thither the last year, and did, sundry of them, come short home. For herein they acted but like Salvages, as those in *Virginia* did fifty years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new neighbours, till they had an opportunity to do them mischief. So that notwithstanding many of the Inhabitants in the Eastern as well as in the Western parts of the Country, that were wont to Trade with the *Indians*, were not willing to believe any such purpose amongst them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the *English*, by their imprudent and irregular actings, had driven them into this Rebellion; yet is it too evident, that the said *Indians* (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful actions) did lay hold of any opportunity that might serve for a pretence to be put upon their barbarous practices. The *Indians* about *Wammeset* and *Pascataqua*, that had joined with their Country-men in their rising against the *English* the last Winter, when they were pinched with hunger in the cold Winter following, returned back to the *English*, and desired to make peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted friendship; yea, some of them as if they were really sorry for their murders and cruelty, of their own voluntary motion came with the Prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the *English*; yet when their own ends were answered, and another opportunity was offered of doing further mischief of like nature, they presently returned to their former practice, as is well known of *Simond* and *Andrew*, that had killed some, and led others captive in the last Spring from *Bradford* and *Haverhill*, who came in the end of *June* to *Maj. Walderns*, bringing home *English* Prisoners with them, yet did the very same *Indians* within less than two Months after join with the *Amonoscoggan* and *Kennibeck* *Indians*, in committing the sad Tragedies that were last acted in those parts; yet was he and the other his partner suffered to escape, for want of sufficient guarding the Prison, where they were put in order to further Trial. But *Sero sapiunt Phryges*; It is hoped that we shall after some few more experiences of this nature,

learn

learn to beware of this subtle brood, and generation of Vipers. Ever since Enmity was put between the seed of the Woman, and the seed of the Serpent, it hath been the portion of her seed in every Generation, and in every Nation, to meet with the sad effects of that enmity; nor can they ever expect to find better dealing from any of the other sort, further than either fear of their power, or hope of benefit by their favour; may induce them to another disposition, as we the Inhabitants of New-England have found by this late and sad Experience in reference to these Pagans in the West amongst whom our lot is cast; they proving, as one says of the *Mahometans* in the East, like a nest of *Hornets*, that if any one of them chance to be provoked, they will be all about his ears that comes near them. But it is now time to begin with the particulars of the Tragedy it self, that the Reader account not the Prologue too long. It was June 24, 1675, when the first mischief was done by the *Indians* about *Mount-hope*: before 20 days were over, the fire began to kindle in these the most remote and most Northernly bounds of the said Country, or 250 miles distant; and upon this occasion: July 11, 1675, a Letter was brought to *Kennibek* from one *Henry Sawyer* an Inhabitant of *York*, signifying the news of the *Indians* rising about *Plimouth*, and that a course was taken to disarm the *Indians* along the shore. This rumor did so far awaken the Inhabitants of those parts, that the very next day at a general meeting of the *English* at one *Capt. Pattishals* house, several offered themselves as Volunteers to go up the said River of *Kennibek*, to make discovery of the *Indians* fidelity, or else to fight them if occasion were. The third day after, marching up the River to *Quegesek*, they met with the Inhabitants of *Ships Cot River*, which is a River lying about 12 or 14 miles to the North-east of *Kennibek*. Divers of the *Indians* thereabouts, by the persuasions of one *Mr. Walker* that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable part of their Ammunition, as a few Guns, a little Powder and Shot, with a few Knives. About 7 of the *Kennibek* *Indians*, and 5 of those called *Ammosagging* *Indians*, about *Pegypscot*, (a River more Southward toward *Casco*) made this shew of bringing in their Arms. *Capt. Lake*, *Capt. Pattishal*, with *Mr. Wiswal*, in whose hands was settled a kind of Military power for those parts, were sent for to examine the said *Indians* further, of whom upon Examination they saw reason to suspect some, if not all; whereupon they sent Messengers the second time to the *Ammosagging* *Indians*, and also a Letter to *Mr. Walker* to send down their Arms and Ammunition to them for their greater security. After *Mr. Wiswal* was returned home, the 5 *Ammosagging* *Indians* aforesaid brought in their Guns, but with no good intent
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probably; for an Indian called *Sowen*, having an Axe in his hand, struck at one *Hosea Mullet* a French-man, but vvas prevented from doing him mischief; however the said Indian vvas presently bound and put into a Cellar. Some of the *English* that used to Trade vvith those *Indians*, vvvere ready to excuse the *Indian*, saying he vvas drunk, or that he vvas a distracted fellow; but *Mr. Wiswall* vvith the other tvvo Examinants lookt upon those as meer Excuses, and altogether groundless; for one of them to this day affirms, that he was as rational and sensible as any of the rest.

The ancient *Indians* being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the said case? said, he was worthy to die for such an affront, yet they would be glad if his life might be spared, offering to be jointly bound in his behalf, to pay 40 Beaver-skins at the next Fall-Voyage, giving their hands in token of their fidelity, and also leaving their Arms in the hands of the *English* as a Pledg of their faithful keeping those Articles of Peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themselves honest men, they were to have their Arms delivered them again, which was accordingly performed the last *June*, 1676. They having in the mean time carried themselves peaceably toward the *English*. The day after, viz. *July* 19, 1675. An *Indian* of great note amongst them, called *Robin Hood*, with great Applause of the rest, made a Dance, and sung a Song to declare their intent in what was transacted. And so they parted, setting the *Indians* at liberty, that had engaged thus for their friend *Sowen* the *Indian*; but yet to this day one skin of Beaver was never paid to the *English* as was promised. The *Indians* all this time were well provided for of Victuals by Capt. *Lake*, with other supplies of Rhum and Tobacco, even to the disgusting of some *English* then present.

But the *Indians* left as Hostages upon *Sowen's* account, how civilly soever they were treated, ran all away at the last, trusting more to the celerity of their own feet, than to the civility of their *English* Friends; who after they were escaped, joined with a parcel of their Fellows soon after about twenty in all, in robbing the house of one *Mr. Purchase* an ancient Planter about *Pegypscot-River*, and a known Trader with the *Indians*; whatever wrong may be pretended by the said *Indians*, as done them in their Trading, (of which more may be spoken afterwards) that will no whit excuse their perfidious treachery & falshood in breaking Covenant with the *English*, dissembling, and seeking all Advantages of cruelty against their *English* Neighbours, of which in the following Winter and Summer, 1676, there will be a more full and undeniable discovery. This was done in the beginning of *September*, 1675. Those *Indians* that first assaulted *Mr. Purchase* his house, did no other mischief, save

save plundering it of strong Liquor, and Ammunition, also killing a Calf or two, with a few Sheep, but no more than what they eat, and spoiling a Feather-bed, by ripping it open to turn out the Feathers, contenting themselves with the Case, which they might more easily carry away. They offered no incivility to the Mistress of the House, (her Husband and her Sons being at that time from home) yet one of her Sons approaching near the House, and finding it possessed of those new Inhabitants, he rode away with all speed, and yet no faster than there was need; for an *Indian* followed him with a Gun under his Coat, to have shot at him, if he could by his flattery and dissembling have got him within the reach of his Piece.

It is said, that at the first they used fair words, and spake of Trading; but as they went away, told those of the house, That there were others coming after, that would deal far worse with them, which within a short time after came to pass, for these were but the messengers of death, which was soon after inflicted, and that in a most barbarous manner upon sundry Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Plantations.

The *English* in those parts being much incensed hereat, twenty-five of them soon after going up *Casco-Bay* in a Sloop and two Boats to gather *Indian* Corn, and to look to what they had upon the said Bay near *Amonoscoggen* River: when they came near the Houses, they heard a knocking and a noise about the houses, and presently espied two or three *Indians*, who did not yet see them: The *English* being come a good way from their Vessel, endeavoured to get between the *Indians* and the Woods, which when they perceived, they ran toward the water-side, but the *English* in pursuit killed one of them, and wounded another, who yet escaped away in a Canoe cross the River, a third running back toward the Woods, fled to the other *Indians*, and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down, and lay in wait to intercept the *English*, that thought of no danger, but scattered themselves all about the place to gather their Corn, and lade the Boats therewith; but before they were ready to go away, the *Indians* coming down, fired upon them, and forced them all into the Sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest, they might all have been cut off, for some little resistance being made by them that were ready with their Guns, it gave the rest an opportunity to get all into the Sloop, yet not without many wounds: So with much ado, they all escaped with their lives, leaving the two Boats almost laden with Corn for a prey to the *Indians*, who presently burned one, and plundered the other of all that was therein; some are ready to think that the

the English did imprudently to begin the Quarrel, and not first enquire into what the *Indians* were about in the house, and seek redress according to the forementioned agreement made at the Court in *Kennibeck*. But if this hapned after what follows next to be related, viz. that which was done to old *Wakely* and his Family (the *English* can be blamed for nothing but their negligence and security, in that having alarmed their enemies, they stood not better upon their guard) which is not very certain. For 'tis thought that within a few days after, or the next week, more horrible outrage was committed upon the Family of an ancient man, whose Name was *Wakely*, an Inhabitant of *Casco-Bay*, who had some years before removed from *Gloucester*, or *Cape Anne* out of some discontent, which afterwards he often bewailed, resolving either to have returned back, or else to have removed to some securer place; but he was arrested by the sons of violence, before he could effect his purpose. This Old man with his Wife, his Son, and his Daughter in Law (at that time great with Child) with three grand Children, were cruelly murdered by those barbarous Salvages at one time: another of his grand Children was taken alive, and led into Captivity, a daughter of his was said to be carried to *Narbaganset*, which shews they joined with the Southern *Indians* in the Rebellion; when once these *Indians* had imbrued their hands in *English* blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody attempts in the adjacent places.

This *Wakely* lived so far from Neighbours, or else was encompassed with Creeks or Rivers, that no Relief could presently be sent to him: however *Lieur. Ingerson* of *Casco* the next day with a File of men, repaired to the place where his house stood, to see what was the reason of the Fire they discerned the day before; there they found the House burned to ashes, the bodies of the Old man and his Wife half consumed with the fire, the young woman killed, and three of the grand Children having their brains dashed out, and their bodies were laid under some Oaken Planks, not far from the house; one Girl of about eleven years old, was carried Captive by them, and having been carried up and down the Country some hundreds of miles, as far as *Narbaganset* Fort, was this last June returned back to Major *Walderns*, by one *Squando* the *Sagamore* of *Saco*: A strange mixture of Mercy and Cruelty!

Soon after *Capt. Bonithon's* and Major *Philip's* Dwellings were assaulted, one on the East, the other on the West side of *Saco-River*. It is said, they had seasonable notice of what was intended against them by their barbarous Enemies. Those *Amonscoggan* Indians, viz. by an Indian of *Saco*, their Neighbour, better minded than the rest of his Country-

Country-men : who observing a strange *Indian* coming to his Wigwam in company with some of his acquaintance, one of whom informed him, after the rest (with the stranger) were gone, That the said stranger came from the Westward, and that his business was to persuade the Eastern *Indians* to fall upon the English in their dwellings here, as the rest had done to the Westward. Captain *Bonithon*, either upon this Information, or upon the knowledge of what was done a little before at *Casco*, had left his House, and was retired over the River with his Family to Major *Philips* his Garison. Thus two are better than one : for otherwise, both might have been destroyed. For upon the 18th of September following, being the seventh day of the week, about eleven a Clock, they at Major *Philips* his Garison saw Captain *Bonithon*'s House on fire on the East side of *Saco River*, which by the good Providence of God was to them as the firing of a Beacon, giving them notice to look to themselves, their Enemies being now come : for otherwise, they might to their great disadvantage have been too suddenly surprized ; for within half an hour after, they were upon them, when a Sentinel placed in the Chamber gave notice, that he saw an *Indian* by the Fence-side, near a Corn-field ; Major *Philips*, not willing to believe till he might see with his own Eyes, ran hastily up ; another of his men, coming after, cryed *Master, What mean you, do you intend to be killed ?* at which words, he turned suddenly back from the window, out of which he was looking, when presently a Bullet struck him on the shoulder, grazing only upon it, without breaking the bone. The *Indians* upon the shot, thinking he had been slain thereby (as they heard afterwards) gave a great shout, upon which they discerned that they were surrounded by them ; whereupon they presently fired upon the Enemy from all Quarters, and from the Flankers of the Fortification, so as they wounded the Captain of the *Indians*, who presently leaving the Assault, retired three or four miles from the place, where he soon after died, as they were informed : He counselled them to leave the Siege, but they were resolved not so to quit the place, nor were those within, less resolute to defend it : one of the best men was soon after disabled from any further service, by a wound which he received in one of the Volleys made upon them by the Assailants : But that no whit daunted the rest of the Defendants, who continued still firing amain upon the Enemy : This Dispute lasted about an hour, after which the Enemy despairing to take the House by Assault, thought upon a device how to burn it.

First, firing the House of one of his Tenants, then his Saw-mill, after that his Corn-mill, hoping by that means to draw them out of the Ga-

Garifon to put out the fire ; but missing of their purpose in that they called out, *You English cowardly Dogs, come out and quench the Fire :* They continued this sport all the afternoon, continually almost without any intermission firing upon them : The besieged hoped for relief from the Town, but none came. The Major still encouraging his men to stand it out, which they manfully did all that night, when they were alarm'd almost every half hour : and betwixt whiles they could hear their Axes and other Instruments, knocking about the Mills till the next day : They within the House conceived they were preparing some Engine wherewith to burn the House, which proved accordingly ; for about four or five a Clock in the morning, at the setting of the Moon, the Major was called by one of his men to look out, when he saw a Cart with four wheels, having a Barricado built in the forepart to keep off shot, and filled with combustible matter, birch-rinds, straw, powder, and poles twenty foot long, apt to fire the House : he bid them let them drive it within Pistol-shot, before they made any shot against them : His men were a little discouraged at the sight of this Engine ; but he bid them be of good courage, and use the means, putting their trust in God ; who, he was confident would deliver them. The Cart, when brought a little nearer, became unweildy by reason of the Barricado planted in it, and being to pass through a small gutter, one wheel stuck fast in the Slough, which brought the Cart suddenly to the Left, whereby the Drivers lay all open to their right Flanker, when presently they fired upon them out of the said Flanker ; and having so fair a shot upon them, and not being above Pistol-shot from the place, they killed six of the Enemy, & wounded fifteen, as they found afterwards, which no doubt made them too late to repent of their resolution, not to follow their Captains Counsel and Example in leaving the Siege, for now they presently departed : so as at Sun-rise, they within the House espied forty of them marching away, but how many more were in the Company they could not tell.

The *Indians* it seemed went towards *Blue point*, where it is said they killed several persons : but those in the House feared they went for more help, and expected their return ; but it seems their courage failed them as to another attempt upon an House well garisoned, and manfully defended. Major *Philips* sent to the Town for help, acquainting them with what had passed, but none was sent them, either that day, or the next : so as having spent almost all their Ammunition, the people that were with him, would not be perswaded to tarry longer than the *Thursday* morning, which constrained him and his Family to remove to the Town ; about a fortnight after, the *Indians* hearing thereof, came and burnt down
the

the empty House. There were fifty persons in the said House during the time of the Siege, and but ten able hands: they had five more that could do something, but through age, or minority, not able to make any notable Resistance; yet it pleased God, in whose hands are all mens lives and limbs, and who is never wont to fail them who in time of danger are so ready to confide in his power and goodness, as not to neglect the use of due means for their own Preservation: so to order things, that not one person of all those fifty, was either killed, or mortally wounded. Major *Philips* himself was wounded, but not dangerously, at the beginning of the Assault: his Mills with other Edifices were the first day burned by the Enemy, and so were all the Houses at *Saco*, or most of them soon after, that were above the Fisher-mans stages. One Mrs. *Hitcock*, being carried Captive by the Enemy from the same place, died in the Winter following, by eating some poysonous Root instead of a ground-nut, as was reported by the *Indians* afterwards.

Much about the same time, five persons going up the River of *Saco*, were all killed by the same *Indians*.

These Tragedies being thus acted at *Casco Bay*, and *Saco*, those Barbarous Enemies dispersed themselves in parties, intending to do all the mischief they could to all the English inhabiting about that side of the Country. In the same month of *September*, they came down towards *Pascataqua*, doing the like spoil upon the Inhabitants of the several Branches of that River, which they had been doing elsewhere: In the first place, they burned the two *Chesties* Houses about *Oyster River*, and killed two men that were passing along the River in a *Canoe*; and carried away an old Irish-man, with a young man taken from about *Exeter*, who yet both of them soon after made an escape to a Garison at *Salmon Falls* in *Kittary*, by the help of an *Indian* better minded than the rest: the first after seven weeks, the other after a Months Captivity.

Much about that time, one Goodman *Robinson* of *Exeter* with his son, were travelling toward *Hampton*, where, as they passing a-long, they were way-laid by three *Indians*, viz. *John Sampson*, *Cromwel*, and *John Linde*, who shot down the old man, whom they left dead upon the place; his son, hearing the Guns escaped their hands, by running into a Swamp whither the *Indians* pursued him, but could not overtake him, so as he got safe into *Hampton* about midnight, where he declared what befell him by the way, and how narrowly he avoided the danger; intimating likewise, that he feared his Father was killed, which was found too true, by Lieut. *Swet*, who the next day with a dozen Soldiers of the Town went to search those Woods, where they found the poor old man, shot

through at his back, the Bullet having pierced through his Body, and was stopped by the skin on the other side: Another of *Exeter*, called *Foul-sam*, was at the same time driving a pair of Oxen in the same Road: where, soon after he heard the Report of the Guns when *Robinson* was killed, he espied the three *Indians* creeping upon their bellies towards him, to do as much for him as they had done for *Robinson*; but leaving his Oxen, he put on his Horse with all speed, and so was delivered from the danger that the other fell into; it is reported that one of the *Indians* made a shot at him, but he was either gotten out of their reach, or else they missed their aim at that time. The same *Indians* had a little before met with another English-man in those Woods, one *Charles Randle*, whom they carried Captive, although he soon after escaped out of their hands by the help of another *Indian* called *James*. It is said, there were four *Indians* of that Company, and that the fourth was sent away with *Randle*, so that there were but three seen together at the killing and pursuing the other forementioned. One of the said *Indians*, viz. *John Sampson*, was killed by some of Capt. *Hathorn's* Soldiers at *Casco Bay*, in September following 1676, when the Scouts of our Forces came upon the *Indians* on the sudden, and had a small brush with them, but all the rest made shift to get away: As for the other two, viz. *Cromwel*, and *John Linde*: one of them, it is said, is since killed, or taken and sold away, the other is at *Kennibeck*, whom vengeance may also in due time overtake, as it hath done the other.

Within a few days after the barbarous Fact at *Oyster-River*, two *Indians*, viz. one named *Andrew*, and the other *Hope-hood*, the Son of him called *Robin-Hood*, assaulted the House of one *Tozer* at *Newechemannick*, wherein were fifteen persons, yet all women and children, who without all doubt had all of them fallen into the merciless hands of the two cruel and barbarous Caitiffs, had not a young maid of about eighteen years of Age first espied them: who being endued with more Courage than ordinarily the rest of her Sex use to be (the blessing of *Jael* light upon her) first shut the door, whereby they were denied Entrance, till the rest within escaped to the next House, that was better Fortified; That young *Viraga* kept the door fast against them so long till the *Indians* had chop'd it in pieces with their Hatchets: when entering the House, they knocked the poor maid down with their Hatchets, and gave her many other wounds, leaving her for dead upon the place; after which, they passed on toward the next dwelling: in their way meeting with two children, that had escaped the house first broken open by them, they killed one of them, of three years old, which could not follow fast enough,

enough, or else they that carried it, could not convey it over a Fence soon enough to save themselves and it; and carried away the other of seven year old, which yet was returned safe within half a year after: The poor Maid that had ventured her own Life so far, to save many others, was by a strange Providence enabled to recover so much strength after they were gone, as to repair to the next Garison, where she was soon after healed of her wounds, and restored to perfect health again.

The next day toward night more of the barbarous Enemies being gathered together, they made another Assault upon the neighbouring dwellings.

The English, as many as could be spared out of the Garison, (not above Eight in number) pursued after them about half a mile, but night coming on, it was judged best to retreat, lest otherwise they might have been intercepted in their return home, by any of them lying in Ambush, which is their usual way of doing mischief. After divers shot made on both sides, but Five of the Enemies appeared: who yet took the advantage of Captain *Wincals* absence, (whose dwelling was not far off) to burn his House and Barn, with another House, and Two Barns more, where was much English Corn; above an Hundred Bushels was supposed to be in one of them. After they had done this mischief, they fled away.

The next day after, the same *Indians*, or others of their Fellows, came upon the other side of the River, from whence they shot over several times, to some that were grinding in the Mill, but after the exchanging of many shot on both sides of the River, betwixt them, six of the Enemy shewed themselves in the Twilight, uttering several insolent and barbarous Speeches, calling our men English dogs, &c. yet all this while out of reach of their shot, and then they ran all away like Dogs after they had done barking.

After this, those very *Indians*, as was supposed, burned Five or six Houses about *Oyster River*, and killed Two men, viz. one *William Roberts* and his Son in Law. The Inhabitants of *Dover*, with some other Resolute young men, being much provoked by these many insolencies and injuries done by the Enemies, obtained liberty from the Major of the Regiment, to try whether they could not meet with some of the *Indians*, by secret Ambushes, and sculking amongst the Bushes and Trees, as the *Indians* used to do with them; to which end about twenty divided themselves into several small parties: soon after as they were looking after the Enemy, a party of ours espied Five of the *Indians*, some gathering

Corn.

Corn in the Field while the rest of them were busied in heating of an Oven to bake some of the fruit which they gathered also in the same Field.

The English were at such a distance that they could not make any sign to their Fellows, without being discovered by the *Indians* in the Field; wherefore Two of them crept as near as they could to the House, at one end of the Field, where they suddenly rushed upon Two of the wretches, and knocked them down with the Butt end of their Muskets, which was done silently; but the other Three in the Field took the Alarm, and fled away, who else might as easily have been surprized as the other two.

These outrages thus daily committed, filled all the Plantations about *Pascataqua* with fear and confusion; scarce any place, where there was not either Reason for some to complain of the loss of their Friends, or burning of their Houses; which caused most of them that lived scatteringly, at any distance from Neighbours, either to garison their Houses, or else to desert their own dwellings, and to repair to their next Neighbours that were better fortified than themselves; but all the Inhabitants in those parts in general, were Alarmed to stand upon their Guard.

On the seventh of *October* following, being a day of publick Humiliation, a man was shot down, as he was riding between Two Garison houses about *Newechewannick*, and dyed of his wounds within two hours after; about the same instant of time Two young men were shot dead about a mile from that place; These two had their Arms or Guns with them, which were carried away by them that killed them, together with their upper garments: It is not said that these three last, (though killed upon a day of Humiliation) were surprized in their repairing to, or returning from the place of publick worship, which would in a great measure have abated the sorrow of their sad Funerals, if when they were suddenly arrested by the Harbingers of Death, they had been found so doing.

Soon after this, they Assaulted another House at *Oyster River*, the which, although it was garisoned, yet meeting with a good old man, whose Name was *Beard*, without the Garison, they killed him upon the place, and in a barbarous manner cut off his head, and set it upon a Pole in derision; not far off about the same time they burned another House and Barn.

Upon the Sixteenth of *October*, being *Saturday*, about an Hundred of the *Indians* were gathered together, to Assault *Newechewannick*; They began with one named *Tozer*, half a mile from the upper Garison, at *Salmon Falls*. The said *Tozer* was presently killed, his Son taken, Captive,

Captive, (but returned after some Months Restraint) several Guns being shot at this Assault, Alarmed Lieut. *Plaisted* at the next Garison, who like a man of a publick Spirit immediately sent out Seven men from the Garison under his Command, to see what the matter was; but being met by an Ambush laid in the way as they went, lost two or three of their Company, the rest hardly escaping back to the place whence they came, whereupon the said Lieut. *Plaisted* immediately dispatched away a Messenger to Major *Waldern* at *Quechecho*, which because it seems to be the last time that ever that good and useful man set Pen to Paper, shall here be inserted.

Salmon Falls, October 16. 1673.

Mr. Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, These are to inform you, that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least One hundred men, and have slain Four of our men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Isaac Bottes, and Tozer's Son, and burnt Benoni Hodsdens house; Sir, if ever you have any love for us, and the Country, now shew your self with men to help us, or else we are all in great danger to be slain, unless our God wonderfully appear for our deliverance. They that cannot fight, let them pray. Nought else, but I Rest,

Yours to serve you,
Signed by, *Roger Plaisted,*
George Broughton.

What Answer was returned to this importunate and patheticall Letter, is not fully known at present; most probably he that was most concerned in the Contents of it, was either absent from home, or in no Capacity to send the Relief desired; which if it could have been had, might have prevented the said mischief that fell out the next day; when Lieut. *Plaisted* being more earnestly bent to perform that last office of love to his deceased Friends, whom he could not by all his endeavours save from the danger of death, while they were in the Land of the living, would needs venture himself with Twenty Soldiers out of his Garison, to fetch off the dead bodies.

To that end he ordered a pair of Oxen to be yoken to bring them to his Garison, in order to their Christian buryal, not considering that the Indians lay sculking thereabouts, waiting for such opportunities. They went first to the furthest place, where they found *Ro. Tozers* body, and put it into their Cart; but coming back to take up the other Two bodies

dies, which were fallen in a little Swamp nearer to the Garison, they were set upon by an Hundred and fifty of the Enemy, that had hid themselves in the Bushes, and under a Stone-wall, and Loggs in the way as they were to pass; by the sudden noise of the Guns, the Cattel being frightened, ran away to the Garison with such of the dead as were first laid up thereon, (and possibly with one of them wounded at that instant) leaving their owners to fight it out with their Enemies. Lieut. *Plaisted* being thus desperately Assaulted, he with his Twenty men, was forced to retreat to a place of better advantage; but being there so hotly pursued, they were not able to abide it long; although they killed and mortally wounded several of the *Indians*, as themselves have since confessed: but they most of them being so much overmatched, took the opportunity of a fair Retreat, and so got safe to their Garison, while Lieut. *Plaisted* out of the height of his Courage, disdaining either to fly from, or yield himself (for 'tis said, the *Indians* were loth to kill him, but desirous rather to take him Prisoner) into the hands of such cursed Caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till he was slain upon the place, his Eldest Son and another man were slain in their too late Retreat, and his other Son was sorely wounded, so that he dyed within a few weeks after.

The *Indians* were contented with this mischief for the present (and indeed if all the English they had to deal with, had shewed the like Resolution with this *Plaisted*, they would not have done half the mischief that since hath been done by them) and slunk away into the Woods before the next day, when Captain *Frost* came up from *Sturgeon Creek*, (a few miles below the River) with a party of his Friends, and buried the dead: During these onsets, the Enemy also took their advantage to burn three houses, and two Barns before, they left the place.

The latter end of the same Month they burned a Mill near the same place belonging to Mr. *Hutchinson* a Merchant of *Boston*; from whence they came down lower toward *Sturgeon Creek*, where they burned one House, and killed two men, not far from Captain *Frost's* dwelling; he escaping himself very narrowly, being shot at by the Enemy, about Ten in number, who might easily have burned his House, and taken all that were in it, being but three boys besides himself, had he not used this Policy, to call out to some to march this and the other way, to look after the *Indians*, as if he had had many at hand to Command, which under God was the means of his escape; for his House was neither Fortified, nor well manned, yet was far from Neighbours.

The next day the said *Indians* passed down the River on *Kittary* side, killed one man, whose House they first plundered, and then set it

on fire; All this was done just over against *Portsmouth*, from whence out of a small Battery was discharged a piece of Ordinance, which by a good Providence was directed so to sing its shot, as it fell very near a party of the *Indians*: for they were so affrighted therewith (if none of them were killed) that they left a good part of their plunder near the place. They were pursued by some of the English before they could recover their home, and by the help of the Snow that fell about that time, were traced till they were overtaken: but being near a Swamp, themselves escaped for haste, leaving two of their Packs behind them.

Soon after they went up the River again to *Quechecho*, where they burned an House, and two or three Barns. Another party of them got over beyond the other Branches of *Pascataqua River*, toward *Exeter*, and *Lampny Eyl River*, where they killed one man: sundry of them were seen in the Woods about *Exeter*; and between *Hampton* and *Exeter*, where they killed one or two men in the Woods as they were travelling homewards, occasioned the people of those Towns to stand continually upon their guard, which proved a great annoyance to the Inhabitants.

But to look a little back to the Plantations more Eastward from *Pascataqua River*, where these outrages of the *Indians* first began.

At *Casco Bay*, Lieut. *Ingersons* son, with another man, going out a-fowling about this time, were both killed before they returned home, his Fathers Houses being burned, with many others also thereabouts.

At *Black point*, Lieut. *Augur* with two more were assaulted by the *Indians*, where after many shot exchanged betwixt them, himself was so wounded that he died soon after, and his Brother was also killed in a few days afterwards, not far from the same place,

When the rising of the *Indians* first began in those Eastern parts, (with us called the County of *York-shire*), Captain *Wincol* of *New-chewannick*, with some others, having a sympathy for the sufferings of the Neighbours, marched up that way with a small party of men: In his first skirmish with the Enemy, he chanced to lose two or three of his Company; the rest being not above eleven in all, as they were marching along by the Sea-side, were assaulted by a great number of the *Indians*, judged to be an hundred and fifty: he being had beset with so great a number, retreated to an heap of Bolts that lay near the Water-side, by the shelter of which they lay safe from the *Indians* Guns, and so well plyed their few Guns, that they slew many of their Enemies, and put them all to a kind of Rout at the last: After which by the help of an old *Canoo*, they recovered safe to the other

side of the Bank. But nine *Saco* men had worse success, who yet came with a very good Intention to help their Friends, upon the hearing of their Guns; but as they came to rescue Captain *Wincol* with his small party, they themselves fell into an Ambush of the *Indians*, and so were all cut off, with two other men also, near the place where the first Skirmish was; for the *Indians* from the shore-side could discern any that were coming towards them, when they were a great way off, and so might easily way-lay them, before they could come up to them. Near upon seven Houses were burned about this time, and some persons killed at *Black point*.

Two persons likewise were killed at *Wells* in the beginning of the Winter, one of them was a servant to Mr. *William Simons* (one of the principal men in the Town aforesaid): the Gentleman himself with his Family, were removed to a Garison-house in the middle of the Town, his servant going early in the morning to look after some business there, tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself; the *Indians* invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor Fellow pay the shot, when they had done, with the loss of his life.

A week after, one *Cross* was slain at *Wells* likewise, who was a kind of distracted Fellow. Also one *Isaac Cousins* was there killed in the beginning of Winter, after there had been some Overtures of peace betwixt Major *Waldern* and the *Indians*.

With such kind of mutual Encounters was the latter part of the year spent betwixt the *Indians* and the English from *Pascataqua River* to *Kennibek*, from the beginning of *August* to the end of *November*, wherein many were slain on both sides: in one place, and in another; of the English in those parts were slain upward of fifty: The Enemy lost, as appeared afterward by their own Confession above ninety, partly in the foresaid Skirmishes, and partly in their joyning with the *Indians* to the Westward, whither it is said, many of them were invited to repair, to help to destroy the English, in hope to enjoy their possessions afterwards: But God had otherwise determined, who did arise at last to save the meek Ones of the Earth, and plead the Cause of his People.

The Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*, had at this time their hands full with the like Attempts of *Philip* and his Complices to the Westward; yet were not unmindful of the deplorable Condition of these Eastern Plantations; having committed the care thereof to the Majors of the Respective Regiments of the several Counties on that side of the Country, but more especially to the care and prudence of the Honoured Major *D. Denison*, the Major General of the whole Colony, a Gentle-

Gentleman, who by his great insight in, and long Experience of all Martial Affairs, was every way accomplished for the managing that whole affair; He had, to ease the other side of the Country, drawn out a sufficient number of Soldiers from the next Countries, to have reduced all the *Indians* Eastward to their obedience; but just as they were intended to march up to the Head-quarters of the *Indians*, to fall upon them there, viz. to *Ossapy*, and *Pigwaubet*, about an hundred miles up into the Country Northward.

The Winter setting in so sharp and severe in the beginning of *December*, and latter end of *November*, it was not possible to have marched a days journey into the Woods, without hazarding all their lives that should venture up: The Snow being found generally in those Woods four foot thick on the 10th of *December*, so as it was not possible for any to have travelled that way, unless they carried Rackets under their feet, wherewith to walk upon the top of the Snow. This alone consideration forced them to lay aside their designs for the present, but soon after it was done to their hands; for the depth of the Snow, and sharpness of the cold were so extrem, that the *Indians* in those parts were so pinched therewith, that being Hunger-starved, they began to sue for peace, making their Address first to Major *Waldern* on that account, by whose mediation that whole Body of *Indians* Eastward were brought to an hopeful conclusion of peace, which was mutually agreed upon; and possibly might have remained firm enough to this day, had there not been too just an occasion given for the breaking of the same by the wicked practice of some lewd persons, which opened the door, and made way for the bringing in all those sad Calamities and mischiefs that have since fallen upon those parts of the Country, as shall be hereafter declared.

In the latter end of *June*, 1676, the *Indians* that had made a general Conspiracy against the English were strangely dispersed, and dispirited, so as they from that time began to separate one from another, and every Nation of them to shift for themselves, as hath been already mentioned in the former part of this *Narrative*. *Canonius* the great Sachim of the *Narhagansets*, distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the Woods by the *Mohawks*, his *Squaw* surrendering her self: by this means her Life was spared.

Many of those about *Lancaster*, and the places adjoining thereunto, did cunningly endeavour to hide themselves amongst those *Indians* about *Pascataqua*, that had newly made their submission to the English, by Major *Walderns* means, and concluded a peace; yet could neither

ther dissemble their nature and disposition past before from suspicion of mischief, nor yet so artificially conceal their persons, but they were easily discerned by such as in former times had any acquaintance with the Eastern *Indians* by way of Trade, or other Converse: Whereupon the Forces newly raised in the *Massachusetts*, under the Command of Captain *William Hathorne*, and Captain *Joseph Sill*, designed for the subduing of those *Indians* about the River of *Merrimack*, and *Pascataqua*, that still stood out in Hostility against the English, meeting with those under the Command of Major *Waldern* aforesaid, and Capt. *Frost* of *Kittary*: It was mutually agreed betwixt those several Commanders, to seize upon all those *Indians* that at that time were met together about Major *Walderns* dwelling at *Quechecho*; The Contrivement succeeded according to expectation, and all the said *Indians* were handsomely surprized, September 6th 1676, without the loss of any persons life, either *Indian* or English, to the number of near four hundred; by which device, after our Forces had them all in their hands, they separated the peaceable from the perfidious, that had been our Enemies, during the late Troubles: finding about two hundred involved in the former Rebellion, more or less, accordingly they sent down to the Governour and Council at *Boston*, who adjudged seven or eight of them immediately to die; such as were known to have had their hand in the blood of the English, or that had been shed by their means: the rest that were found only Accessories to the late mischiefs, had their lives spared, but were sent into other parts of the World, to try the difference between the Friendship of their Neighbours here, and their service with other Masters elsewhere.

Those who had been always either peaceable and true to the English, never intermeddling in the quarrel, as *Wannalancet* the *Sagamore* of *Pennicook*, and some others were quietly dismissed to their own places.

Besides these that were surprized at the time aforesaid, there were several others, who had been the chief Actors, that were taken up and down in those Woods beyond *Merrimack*, and so were delivered up to Justice; As *John Monoco*, *Sagamore Sam*, old *Jethro*, with some others, as hath been already mentioned, yet young *Jethro* brought in forty at one time. It was a special favour from God, so to order it, that the *Indians* aforesaid were so surprized; for had they continued in their former Rebellion, and had taken the opportunity to have joined with the Eastern *Indians*, as some of them did a few Months before, they would in all likelihood have utterly destroyed all the Plantations of the English beyond *Pascataqua River*; as manifestly appears by the mischief which

which was lately done by the means of a few, that by too much Con-
 vidence of some in those parts, that entertained a better opinion of them
 than it seems they deserved. For whereas mention formerly was made of
 a small party of *Indians*, that on the third of *May* in this present year
 had murdered one *Thomas Kembal* of *Bradford*, and carried away his
 Wife and five Children Captive; yet two or three of the *Actors* did upon
 what consideration is not known, return the woman and children again
 within six weeks; and because of their voluntary returning of them, were
 dealt more favourably withal, being only put into Prison at *Dover* for
 a time; yet possibly conceiving that a Prison was but a preparation for
 a worse evil, they took an opportunity (two of the chief *Actors* in the
 foresaid mischief, called the one *Simond*, the other *Andrew*.) to convey
 themselves out of the place of restraint, and afterwards going amongst
 the *Amonoscoggan* and *Kennibeck* *Indians*, have joyned with them in
 those bloody and cruel depredations lately made in those parts, which
 follow in order next to be related.

Some little colour or pretence of injury was alleadged before those
Eastern Indians began their outrage both in the former, as well as in the
 present year. The chief *Actor* or rather the beginner of all the aforesaid
 mischiefs Eastward, is one *Squando*, the *Sagamore* of *Saco* *Indians*,
 whose *Squaw*, as is said, was abuted by a rude and indiscreet act of some
 English Seamen in the last Summer, 1675, who either overset the *Ca-
 noo* wherein the said *Squaw* with her Child were swimming in a River
 thereabouts, or else to try whether the Children of the *Indians* as they
 had heard, could swim as naturally as any other creatures, wittingly
 cast her Child into the water; but the *Squaw* immediately diving into
 the water after it, fetcht it up from the bottom of the River: yet it
 so falling out that within a while after the said Child dyed, (which it
 might have done if no such affront had been offered) the said *Squando*
 Father of the Child hath been so provoked thereat, that he hath ever
 since set himself to do all the mischief he can to the English in those parts,
 and was never as yet since that time truly willing to be reconciled: Al-
 though he is said to have sent home some that were taken Captive the last
 year. Surely if their hearts had not been secretly filled with malice and
 Revenge before, they might have obtained satisfaction for the wrong
 done at an easier Rate. More probable it is, that this was only an occasion
 to vent the mischief they formerly had conceived in their hearts.

There is an injury of an higher nature, mentioned as the ground of
 their quarrel with us, who live about *Pemmaquid*, and *Kennibeck*,
 which hapned the last Spring, viz. one *Laughton* with another person

or

or more, who having obtained under the hand of Major *Waldern*, a Warrant to seize any *Indians* Eastward, that had been guilty of any Murder or spoil done to the English in those parts; did most perfidiously and wickedly entice some of the *Indians* about *Cape Sables*, who never had been in the least manner guilty of any injury done to the English, aboard their Vessel, or else some other way, and then carried them away to sell them for slaves; which the *Indians* in those parts look upon as an injury done to themselves, and have alledged it to the Inhabitants of *Pembaquid*, as one of the principal grounds of their present quarrel: The thing alledged is too true as to matter of Fact, and the persons that did it, were lately committed to prison in order to their further tryal. Yet all those *Indians* do, or may know full well, that they who did them that wrong, were lyable to due punishment, (or else their quarrel might be accounted just, and they considered as *Indians*, must have the more allowance) if they could be found; nor ever were any countenanced amongst us, that had done them any kind of injury, nor did those that take upon them the revenging of the injury, know that they were Inhabitants of this Country that did the wrong; nor was then ever any orderly complaint made thereof: but this cannot excuse their perfidiousness and cruelty. Some other pretences were allcaded by the said *Indians* that yet do bear no proportion to the mention of a wrong or injury, viz. because our Traders were forbidden to sell any Ammunition to any *Indians* whatsoever, which those *Indians* say they cannot live without; yet seeing themselves, as well as the Westward *Indians* have so ill improved, that which they had before, there was little Reason why they should quarrel with us for selling no more.

Further also it is affirmed by some persons worthy of credit, that for divers years past have lived in those parts, that the *Indians* thereabouts need not have wanted powder or shot, only they wanted something wherewith to cloak their malicious and barbarous practices of late committed against us; but there being different opinions about this point, we shall leave it at the present.

But these being premised in Reference to the pretended ground, or occasion of the quarrel; It remains that the effects thereof be now related.

Before the War with *Philip* was well ended to the Southward, there was a fresh Alarm sounded again to the Eastward; for on the Eleventh of *August*, 1676. The very day before *Philip's* heart (that had harboured to many mischievous and treacherous devices against the English) was by one of his own Company shot through, did a party of *Indians* begin their outrages

outrages at *Casco* in a most perfidious and treacherous manner, killing and carrying away Captive to the number of thirty persons, and burning their houses amongst whom was the Family of one *Anthony Bracket* Inhabitant of *Casco*, who was thought to have been killed; but he himself with his Wife and one of his Five Children carried away Captive with a *Negro*, did happily make an escape from their bloody and deceitful hands, in *November* next ensuing.

The manner how *Anthony Bracket* and his Wife made their escape was very remarkable, and therefore judged worthy to be inserted here, although out of due place. The *Indians* that led them Captive, having brought them to the Northside of *Casco Bay*, News was brought to the said *Indians* of the surprisal of *Arrowsick* house in *Kennibek*, withal the store therein, which did so rejoyce them, that they made all haste to share in the good things there to be had. Thus eager to be gone they promised *Bracket* and his Wife that they should have also a share therein if they would make haste after them, bringing along a burthen allotted to each of them: The woman having a little before observed an old Burchin *Canoo* lying by the water-side, hoped it was an opportunity Providence offered for their escape; whereupon she first prudently asked of the *Indians* to let the *Negro* their own servant (at the same time carried Captive by them) help them to carry their burthens, which was granted: then she begged of them a piece or two of meat, which was not denyed them. Thus being furnished with help and provision, the *Indians* leaving them thus behind to come after with their several burthens and a young Child; They could not but look upon it as a *Nutus Divinus*, to bid them shift for themselves: the woman also found a needle and thread in the house, where they staid on that side of the Bay, with which having mended the *Canoo*, they ventured to get away; which prosperously succeeded: for in that old *Canoo* they crossed a vvater eight or nine miles broad, and vvhen they came on the South side of the Bay, they might have been in as much danger of other *Indians*, that had lately been about *Black point*, and had taken it; but they vv ere nevly gone: So things on all sides thus concurring to help forward their deliverance, they came safely to the *Fat* at *Black point*; vvhere also by special Providence they met vvith a Vessel bound for *Pascataqua*, that came into that Harbor, but a fevv hours before they came thither, by vv hich means they arrived safe in *Pascataqua River*, soon after, all vv hich Circumstances are very vvorthy to be noted.

Amongst those *Indians* that se'z'd this *Brackets* Family, the chief vv as one *Simond*, that nevly or a little before had escaped out of *Dover Prison*,

Prison, where he was not over carefully lookt to: he had had his hand in the murther of fundry English, as himself confessed; not missing save one in the which he had discharged his Gun upon; but because he came in voluntarily, bringing in a woman and five Children of the English, who had been carried Captive a little before, it was questioned, whether his last act of submission might not ballance his former transgression, and therefore was he committed to that, not so secure a Prison, till his Case might be further considered of. It is said that coming to that *Brackets* House over night he pulled forth a counterfeited pass, under the hands of some publick Officers, or men intrusted with that Service, making shew of all Friendship; but in the morning or soon after, he pulled off his Vizour of a friend, and discovered what he was, yet granting Life to this person and his Family, that did not, or could not resist, which he denyed to some of the Neighbors not far off, who were many of them killed by this blood Villain and his Partners.

There are some circumstances in the assault of *Anthony Brackets* house very considerable, which, because it was the first outrage committed by the *Indians* in this their second insurrection, 1676, are worthy of a more particular remembring.

This *Indian* forementioned called *Simond*, after he had escaped out of Prison at *Dover*, came up to *Casco*, and either in the end of *July*, or beginning of *August*, acquainted himself with this *Anthony Bracket*, and oft frequented his house: Upon the Ninth of *August*, some of the *Indians* having killed a Cow of his, the *Indian Simond* coming to his House promised to bring the *Indians* to him that killed his Cow. In the mean time they of the place sent two men to *Major Walderns* at *Dover*, to complain of this injury done by the *Indians*; but before their return, very early in the morning on the Eleventh of *August*, *Simond* with a party of *Indians* came to *Anthony Bracket's* house, and told him there were the *Indians* that killed his Cow; but as soon as they had said, That the *Indians* went further into his House and took hold of all the Guns they could see, *Anthony Bracket* asked what was the meaning of that; *Simond* presently replied, that so it must be, asking him withal, whither he had rather serve the *Indians*, or be slain by them: *Anthony Bracket* answered, that if the Case were so, he would rather chuse to serve them, than be killed by them: *Simond* replied, that then they must be bound, which presently was done. The said *Bracket*, his Wife, and a Negro were all bound by the *Indians*; his Wife had a Brother, who offering to resist was killed forthwith, the rest with five Children were led away Prisoners.

Two hours after one *Pike* that lived not far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went up in a *Canoo* toward one *Robert Corbins* house, where he found one *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* at work about their *Hay*, after a little stay, he left them, intending to go up higher with his *Canoo*, but as soon as he was a little past, he heard *Guns* shot off; which made him with another man he had with him, presently return back; before he came beyond *Corbins* house he saw an *English boy* running with all haste, which made him fear some mischief was in hand, and presently a *Volley* of shot came against them, but the *Bullets* flying over their heads, did them no hurt: presently *Simond Indian* appeared, and called them to come a shore; but they liked not his *Courtesy*, but presently turning their *Canoo* into the stream, got out of the reach of their *Guns*, halting down to his own house with all speed; when he came near to his house, he called to the *People* to make hast away, towards the *Garrison house*, and bid the rest look to themselves, and fire upon the *Indians*, that were coming against them: In the mean while, the *Indians* passing from *Anthony Brackets* to *Corbins*, killed *Corbin* himself with *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* forementioned; Then passing on to other houses, carried away some of them *Captive*, and killed others. At one of the next houses, the woman and *Children* got off into the water by a *Canoo*; but one *James Rose*, his wife and *Children* were carried away: *Corbins* wife with one of the other mens wives; and the *Children* of another of them, they likewise carried away.

In another side of the Town, three were as they were going to reap at *Anthony Brackets*, passing from an house where they left their *Canoo*, met with by *J. Mount-joy* and one *Wakely*, to whom they told what had hapned, soon after they heard two *Guns* shot off, whereby it seems two men were killed, wherefore coming back toward *Thomas Brackets* where they had left their *Canoo*, they saw him shot down by the *Indians*; one of the three not so well able to run hid himself in the bushes in hope to make his escape more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean time he saw the *Indians* carry away *Thomas Brackets* wife and *Children*; Soon after the three men aforesaid got safe to *Mr. Mount-joys* *Garrison*, but not trusting to the Security of that *Garrison*, they soon after repayred to an *Island* in the Bay, called *James Andrews Island*.

One *George Lewes* and his wife tarried all this time in their house till the next day, when they had opportunity to get safe to the *Island* aforesaid, together with the two men that were now returned from *Major Waldern*; whither they had been sent, but too late, to make complaint

of the Indians that had counterfeited his pass to travail into those parts, and had done this mischief.

The day after one *George Felt* suspecting the worst by reason of a *smoak* he saw on the opposite side of the Town, took his wife and Children into a *Canoo* to see what the matter was, but when he came near a point of Land not far off, he found several of his Neighbours goods, which made him conclude their Owners were killed, which was a sufficient warning to him likewise to fly for his Life, which he did to the same Island. After they had sundry of them escaped thither, some of them remembred that they had left powder behind them in one or two places; whereupon they resolved to venture a party of them in the night, partly to prevent the Indians from having any Advantage thereof, and partly for their own defence if occasion should be; Their Attempt succeeded well, for they brought away a barrel of powder from one *Willes* his house, and likewise a considerable quantity out of a Chest in a Store-house, where the Indians had been ransacking, and had taken things out of the other end of the Chest, yet overlooked the Powder: In this surprisal of the Plantation in *Casco Bays*, called *Falmouth*, there were thirtyfour persons killed and carried Captive.

That this was not a casual Attempt, but a designed plot, it will appear, in that just about the very same time, the Indians at *Kennebeck*, made the like Insurrection, whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which escaped from *Dover*, stirred them up thereunto, or else that the said Indians finding them in a disposition tending that way, by reason of some injuries done them that dwell farther Northward, they offered their Service to help forward the designe.

It is to be noted here, that the Indians about *Kennebeck* were persuaded to continue their former amity with the English notwithstanding the report of *Philips* rising that year before, and the Outrages committed the last Autumne, and winter following, yet which is more, they had lately renewed their League with the English in those parts, although they had often complained to those of *Pemmaquid*, of the injury they suffered, in the withholding from them the Trade of powder, and shot, without which they said they cannot subsist, and for want of which it is alleaged by themselves, that some of them perished the last winter.

But the Quarrel of late fallen out betwixt the English, and the Indians about *Kennebeck*, and Eastward thereof, being a matter of great Consequence; For the farther satisfaction of the Reader, it shall in what follows, be more particularly described; it being the duty of every one that

that published things of this nature, to do the right of an Historian to all sorts of persons, any way concerned in what is made publick; The Information was received from a prudent person, an Eye and Ear witness of all that hapned amongst the said Indians, both the former and present year, and one that was of more publick Concernment in those Transactions than some others, therefore may the more heed be given thereto. Mention is already made of what hapned in September, 1675. to the Company belonging to a Sloop, and two other Boats, that went up Casco Bay to gather Indian Corn; Upon that Accident it is said, divers Indians on the East side of Kennibeeck River repaired to their Fort at Totonnock (a place up higher into the Country beyond Kennibeeck and Shipscot River) where was an English trading house. And the Indians Eastward of the said River, had as yet done no harm to any of the English, yet did Captain Sylvanus Davis Agent for Major Clarke, and Captain Lake of Boston, upon these Overtures think it fit to fetch down the Powder and Shot with other goods from the said Trading-house, telling the Indians, by the Messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below in that River, to take off jealousies, and that he would then supply them with what was needful.

But the Messenger told them, in Case they would not come down, and deliver up their Arms, the English would kill them. He that sendeth a Messenger by the hand of a Fool saith Solomon, cutteth off the feet and drinketh dammage; This Message was delivered by him that went, as was confessed by himself, who put it into his mouth, or whether it was devised in his own heart, it concerns not us now to enquire, but the dammage that side of the Country hath been made to drink thereby, is not easy to recount; for upon this Threatning Message the Indians forsook their Fort presently, and went Eastward, and sent abroad to Johns River and to the Sea side to get all the Indians they could together to come up Penobscot River.

A Gentleman who at that time lived at Pemmaquid, a kind of Superintendent over the Affairs of that place, considering the sad state things were running into, laboured to obtain a Parly with the said Indians, or some of them, which after much trouble and cost, he did accomplish. But in the mean time, such was the violence used by some refractory English in those parts, that they could scarce be restrained from offering violence to the persons he sent up as Messengers, or others that lived quietly amongst them, and did also as violent by set themselves to oppose himself, or any others that acted with more moderation, then the rest, protesting against them, as those who forgave supplied the Indians with

Powder and Shot, and said they would kill any Indian they met; others at *Monhiggan* offered five pound for every Indian that should be brought, yet would not these persons that were so violent against the Indians in their discourse, be perswaded upon any Terms, then, or afterward, to go out to fight against the Indians in an orderly way; as appeared both by their Security in not standing better upon their guard, and by their sudden flight afterward, running away like a Flock of Sheep, at the barking of any little dog: Things being in this posture, what could be expected but a present warr with the Indians, although as it seems, there were few or none like to be found, willing to undertake it, or fit to manage it in those parts. However, the person aforesaid, understanding, the General Court at Boston had appointed a Counsel of Warr at *Kennibeck*, applyed himself to them, laying before them the desperate estate things were falling into; whereupon they issued out warrants to restrain all manner of persons from meddling with the Indians without farther order, which within few days should be had. In the mean time the *Sachems* of the Indians meet at *Pemmaquid*; where, after many complaints made of the hard dealing of the English in *Kennibeck River*, they came to *Terms of Peace*, promising to keep true Friendship with the English; and to hinder the *Amonoscoggan* Indians from meddling with the English, if by any means they could, and also to return peaceably in the Spring of the year. This Gentleman aforesaid, having a long time waited to go to Boston; was willing to take the opportunity of the present Winter, hoping things were now pretty well settled in those parts betwixt the Indians and the English; found soon after, that he was cited thither to Answer some Complaints (though made without ground) for selling *Powder and Shot* to the Indians contrary to Order.

But those false opinions being easily blown away by his own appearance at Boston, and so having dispatched his occasions there, he returned before the winter was over to *Pemmaquid*, where hearing of a Vessel that intended to take Indians in those parts, and carry them away to a market, the which he had many strong Reasons to believe (it being no hard matter to surprize many such, that suspecting by fraud, would easily be enticed aboard a Vessel to trade, or may be to drink Liquor) sent both the Master and Company, if they had any such intent to forbear, seeing those Indians were at peace with us, and likewise to the Indians, to inform them of such a Vessel, and to beware thereof, but yet it seems the Master and Company took several Indians Eastward, who were also at peace with us, and to our great sorrow shipt them aboard for a market.

The

The winter being now over, the forenamed *Agent of Pemmaquid* went to a meeting of the Indians *Eastward*, to persuade them of the Countreys *willingness* to continue a *peace with them*. They seemed very joyfull thereat, and in the Spring brought some *Presents to confirm the Peace*, and to that end also delivered up an *English Captive Boy* to those of *Kennibek*. But when the Summer came on, that the said Indians had liberty to *travel up and down* the Country to visit their Friends as they used to do; they missed those their *Friends* who had in the winter *perfidiously been carryed away*, and as is related, they fell into a Rage against the *English*, making Complaint thereof to the said *Agent, Mr. Earthy, Mr. Richard Oliver*, and others: They were told, means should be used for bringing them *back again* which had been so *Transported*; those to whom the Complaint was made did scarce believe it to be true, as not having *heard thereof* from any other hand, and probably hoping none, especially after solemn warning, would deal so *perfidiously with He-thens*, to lay such a *stumbling block* before them.

The Indians being *certain* of the *thing done*, could not be easily pacified, being likewise increased against the *English*, for withholding the Trade of *Powder and Shot*, the last winter, saying, they were frightened from their *Corn* the last year by the People about *Kennibek*, so as many of them dyed in the following winter for want of *Powder and Shot*, wherewith to *kill Venison and Fowl*; Adding withall, that if the *English* were their Friends as they pretended, they would not suffer them to dye, for want thereof: However, the said *Agent* making the best he could of a *bad Cause*, used all means to *pacifie the Complaynents*, and to that end promised them, that if they could meet with any of the *Amonoscoggan* Indians (who it seems all along had the *bitterest Enmity* against the *English*) he would give them a meeting to *treat in order to a peace*, *Major Waldern* having already concluded a *Peace* with the *Pascataqua & Casco* Indians, & by that means, if they could conclude the like peace with the *Amonoscoggan* men, (that could not yet be found) there would be a *general peace* with all the Indians *Eastward of Pascataqua*, which the Indians that were present at this discourse, seemed very-joyfull at: yet still by one *fatal Accident* or other, *jealousies* still seemed to increase in their minds, or else the former injuries began to *boyl a fresh* in their Spirits, as not being easily digested, what ever had been said, or done to *allay the offensiveness thereof*. Soon after comes a *Post* from *Toronto*, to desire him to repair thither according to his promise, where they told him he should meet with *Squando*, and divers *Amonoscoggan Sachems*, and that *Mug* was sent *Post* to fetch the said *Squando*:
This

This Gentleman mindful of his promise, went with the *Post* to *Kenni-beck*, and finding *Captain Lake* at his house in *Arowsick*; It was judged meet that *Captain Sylvester Davis* should go along with him, with instructions from the *Counsel* then sitting in *Kenni-beck*, how to carry on their *Treaty*. After they had gon part of their way towards *Toton-nock*, they came to an English house, where they were told, what great jealousies of deceit in the Indians were upon their Spirits, from what they had heard of *Muggs* and *Tarunkin*, an *Amonoscoggan Sachem*; going farther to a place called *Kedonu Cook*, they met with indians, who were very sly of telling them any thing, which added to the former Intimation, greatly increased their fears: but being resolved of their voyage, they went onward itill in their way, yet falling short of the place, on purpose that they might finish their business with them the next day: when they came to their Fort, they were first saluted with a Volley of Shot, then brought into a *Wigwam* where their *Sachems* were: *Madochwando* sate as chief, who now stiles himself their *Minister*: Being set in a Councel, they made *Assiminasqua* their speaker; whose Adopted Son was the said *Madochwando*: He told them it was not their Custom, if any came as Messengers to treat with them, to seize upon their persons, as sometimes the *Mohawks* did with such as had been sent to them: *Captain Davis* and the other Gentleman told them, therein they dealt like men: Answer was presently made them; you did otherwise by our men, when fourteen came to treat with you; and set a Guard over them, and took away their Guns: And not only so, but a second time you required our Guns, and demanded us to come down unto you, or else you would kill us, which was the Cause of our leaving both our Fort, and our Corn to our great loss.

It was without doubt no small trouble to their minds, in a Treaty with these Pagans, *Hac diei potuisse, & non potuisse refelli*: Yet to put the best Construction might be, on such Irregular actions, which could not well be justified. They told them, the persons who had so done, were not within the Limits of their Government, and therefore though they could not call them to an account for so acting, yet they did utterly disallow thereof: Adding farther, as soon as we understood thereof, we sent for you to *Pemmaquid*, and Treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the violence of the English; The Indians Replied, we do but inform you, and will Treat further in the Afternoon. But when the Afternoon came, our Two Messengers told them, their business was to Treat with the *Amonoscoggan Sachems*, and that they were sorry, *Squando* was not there: Then having confirmed their Peace with
those

those *Eastward Indians*, they intreated the *Amonoscoggan* men to speak, who likewise urged *Tarumkin*, the chief *Amonoscoggan Sachem* to speak, who after *some pauze*, said he had been to the *Westward*, where he had found many Indians *unwilling for Peace*: but says he, I found *three Sachems* (whom he named, though those he spake to knew them not) willing to *have peace*; And for my own part, I am *willing for peace*, and gave them *his hand* with Protestation of his continuing in *Friendship*; so did *seven or eight more* of the *Amonoscoggan* men, whose Names they took, of whom *Mug* and *Robin Hood*: Son were two. After this *Madochewando* asked them what they should do for *Powder and Shot*, when they had eaten up their *Indian Corn*, what they should do for the *Winter*, for their hunting *Voyages*: asking withall, whether they would have them *dy*, or leave their *Country*, and go all over to the *French*. Our *Messengers* told him, they would do what they could with the *Governor*, some might be *allowed them for Necessity*: He said they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now say *yea*, or *nay*, whether they should have *powder as formerly*, or *not*? Our *Messengers* then *Replied*, your selves say, many of the *Western Indians* would not have *Peace*, And therefore if we sell you *powder*, and you give it to the *Western men*, what do we but cut our own *Throats*? Adding further, it is not in our power *without leave*, if you should wait *ten years more*, to let you have *powder*; at which words they seemed much to be *offended*.

But yet the next day they resolved to go down with them & to speak with the *Western men*, thereby, if it might be, to stop their farther proceeding.

So going down with them the next day, they met with some *Indians* who had got *strong Liquor*, with whom they fell a drinking: Our *Messengers* stayed at two places for them, and finding that still they tarried behinde, not knowing what farther to do, they went home, it being the *sixth day* of the week. But the next night save one, news came to *Kennibek*, that the *Indians* had killed divers *English* in *Casco*, although it was not yet known at *Pemmaquid*. Upon this *News Capt. Davis* set out one *Sentinal* the next night; the rest, (such was their *Security*) went all else to bed, and in the morning, were all like *Laiſh* surprized: thus might it be said, *Invadunt Adem somno (si non) vinoq; sepultam*. The particulars of the *surprizing* of *Kennibek*, and *Arowſick house* are thus related by such as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the *thirteenth of August*, 1676. several *Indians* repaired in the Evening

Evening to the house of one Mr. *Hammond*, an ancient inhabitant, and Trader with the Indians up *Kennibeeck River*, His daughter or a maid that was servant in the house, either naturally afraid of the Natives, or else upon something she observed in their Countenances, or Carriage, manifested so much fear, as made her run out of the house to hide herself in some place abroad; The Indians perceiving it, the more to dissemble their Treachery, ran after her, and brought her into the house, telling her (although they could not persuade her so to believe) that there was no Reason to be afraid of them; presently after more of the Barbarous Villains coming into the house, she grew more afraid then before, being now more strongly persuaded that they came on purpose to kill or surprize those in the Family, whereupon she suddenly made an escape out of the house, and presently passed into a Field of Indian Corn, whereby she might the better avoid the danger of any pursuer, and so ran cros over the land that night ten or twelve miles, to give them notice that lived at *Shipscot River*: it is said that after she got out, she heard a noyze in the house, as if they were fighting or scuffling within doors; but she did not count it wisdom to go back to see what the matter was, knowing enough before of their Villanys, how well soever her Mrs. (that was more versed in the Trade of the Indians) might think of them. Those of *Shipscot* taking this warning escaped away as soon as they could, leaving their Cattle and their dwellings as a Prey to the Indians. What befel Master *Hammond* and his Family is not yet certainly known: Reports past up and down, that some who came down the River afterwards, saw some of the dead stripped upon the Bank of the River, which makes us fear the worst, concerning all the rest; for certainly the whole Family sixteen in Number, were all at that time either killed, or carryed away Captive, none save the maid aforesaid, being known to make any other escape, to inform their Friends like *Jobs Messengers*, what befel the rest of the Family.

The Indians having in this manner surprized Mr. *Hammonds* house, they passed down the River the same night; but going by another house, medled not with the people, only turned their Canoes a drift, that they might not finde means afterwards to escape themselves, or help others so to do: possibly their chief aim being at *Arowsick* house, they would not, for fear of being discovered, make any Attempt upon any place near by: wherefore August the fourteenth very early in the morning, having in the night, or before break of day passed over on to the Island called *Arowsick*, several of them undiscovered lay hid under the aforesaid house behinde a great Rock near adjoyning, till the Sen-

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Sentinel was gone off from his place, (who went off it seems sooner than was Reason, considering the danger) when presently some *Indians* followed him in, at the *Fort gate*, (as some report) while others of them immediately seized the *Port holes* thereof, and shot down all they saw passing up and down within the *Walls*, and so in a little time became *Masters of the Fort*, and all that was within it : *Captain Lake* (joyn't Owner with *Major Clark* of the whole *Island*) hearing the *bussle* that was below, betwixt the *Indians* and those that belonged to the place, was strangely surprized, yet himself with *Captain Sylvanus Davis* and two more, understanding that the *Indians* had seized the *Fort*, and killed divers of the *English*, apprehending it bootless, or rather heartless to stay, as not being able to stand upon their guard, or make any resistance, made a shift to find some passage out at a back door, whereby they escaped to the *water-side*, where they found a *Canoo*, into which they all entered and made away toward another *Island* near by : this was not done so secretly but the *Indians* discerned them before they were gone far ; four of them therefore hastened after those that had escaped, in another *Canoo*, and coming within shot, discharged their *Guns* upon them, whereby *Sylvanus Davis* was sorely wounded ; yet making hast, as generally they use to do that fly for their lives, *timor addidit alas*, they got a shore before the *Indians* overtook them. It is said they were strangely dispirited, or else they might easily have defended themselves against their pursuers : But when once mens hearts are sunk with fear and discouragement, upon a sudden surprisal, it is hard to buoy them up, to make any competent resistance : *Capt. Davis* being sadly wounded, could neither trust to his legs to fly, nor yet make use of his hands to fight, yet was strangely preserved ; Providence directing him to go into the Cleft of a *Rock* hard by the place, where he first landed ; The *Indians* by the glittering of the *Sun beams* in their *Eyes* as they came a shore, did not discern him ; so as lying hid under the Covert of the hand of Providence, for two days, he at last crawled a little about the *water side*, till he found a *Canoo*, whereby he escaped away with his Life, much adoe. The other two men, were better foot men, and parting from *Captain Lake* made their escape ten or a dozen mile, to the further end of the *Island*, and so escaped from the *Indians*, till they found means to get off ; poor *Captain Lake*, that a few hours before, slept quietly in his *Mansion house*, surrounded with a strong *Fortification*, defended with many *Souldiers*, is now forced to fly away with none to attend him. And as the *Awful hand of Divine Providence* ordered things, was as some say, pur-

sued by such Indians as were *meer strangers* to the place, that knew not the *Masters from the man*, by one of whom he was *shot down*, as is supposed, soon after his coming ashore, *Lieut. Davis* heard two *Guns*, by which was thought, and soon after was known so to be by an Indian which since hath confessed to *Captain Davis* that he shot him that day *Arowsick* was taken, which he intended not to have done, but that he held up his *Pistol* against him, whereas if he had but asked *quarter*, he should have had his Life. *Captain Lake* was slain at that time, although many hopes were for some time maintained, that he was *taken alive*, and kept with other *Captives*, amongst the Indians; And 'tis said the Indians of those parts did not intend to kill him, if they could have helped it: But it was known, that his hat was seen upon an *Indians head* not long after, which made his Friends conclude what had befallen the *Owner*, that good man, who might *Imphatically* be so termed in distinction from them that may truly be called *Just men*, and no more: For it seems according to the *just Agreement* betwixt himself and his *part-owner* of *Arowsick Island*, it was not his turn this year to have been upon the place, but such was his *goodness*, that he yielded to the desire of his *Friend and partner*, as in his room and stead to take upon himself that service in this time of danger, it is hoped his goodness in future time will not be forgotten by such as were any way concerned therein, or had *Advantage* thereby.

This Island (called *Arowsick* from an Indian so named, that formerly possessed it, and of whom it was purchased by one *Mr. Richards* who sold it to *Captain Lake* and *Major Clark*) lyes up ten miles within the mouth of *Kennibek River*; it is some miles in length, and containeth many thousand *Acres* of very good Land; where meadow and arable ground are in a good proportion well suited together; within the Fort aforesaid were many convenient buildings for several Offices, as well for wares and Trading, as habitation: six several Edifices are said to have been there erected. The Warehouse at that time was well furnished with all sorts of goods; besides a Mill and other Accommodations, and dwellings within a mile of the Fort and Mansion house; some of whose Inhabitants hardly made their escape, upon the first surprisal of the Fort.

All which considered, the loss that beset the *Proprietours* at the surprisal of this Island seems to be very great, valued at many thousands: but those that were the Owners with others of late times, have found in their own Experience, what *Solomon* said of old, *There is a Time to get, and a Time to loose, a Time to keep, and a Time to cast away; a Time to break*

break down, as well as a *Time to build up*. The persons *killed* and taken at *Kennibeck*, both at *Mr. Hammonds*, and at *Arowsick*, are said to be *fifty three*.

Upon the Report of this *sad disaster*, all the Plantations of the *English* in those parts were soon after left, and forsaken by degrees. All the rest of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck River*, *Shipscoot River*, *Sagadebeck*, *Damanicotte*, fearing to be served in the same kind, fled to the Islands of *Cape-bonawagan* and *Damorils Cove*.

On the *second day at night* a *Post* was sent to *Pemmaquid* to inform them of what had hapned, who being but *eight or ten men*, were minded to go to the Island called *Monhiggon*, having secured the *best of their goods*, but the wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into *Damorils Cove*, where they found *Mr. Wiswal*, and *Mr. Colicot*, there they laboured *two days* to settle a *Garrison*; But partly by the *mutinousness* of the people, and partly by the *want of provision* nothing could be done to *secure the Island*, so that it was presently deserted: From thence they went to *Monhiggon*, resolving there to tarry till they heard from *Boston*, from whence *Mr. Colicot*, and *Mr. Wiswel* promised to do their *utmost endeavour* to send help. There they settled *three Guards*, and appointed *five and twenty* to *watch every night*; not knowing but that the Indians might come every hour. But continuing there a *Fort-night*, and finding no relief like to come; and seeing all the Country *burned round about*, (For after they had gotten all that could be saved from *Pemmaquid*, they saw all the other Islands, *Windgins*, *Corbins sound*, *New-Harbour*, *Pemmaquid* all on fire in two hours time) then considering what was best to be done, they found no *Boats* could be sent to sea for fear of *weakning the Island*, and that most of those that were upon the Island, were *Strangers*, *Coasters*, and such as came from the *Mayne*, and were ready to be gone upon every occasion, they laid an *Imbargoe* for one weeks time; after which a Letter was received from *Major Clark*, desiring their *Assistance* for enquiring after *Capt. Lake* if alive, saving what could be had at *Kennibeck &c.* but intimating nothing of any help like to come, besides those that brought the Letter told them, it was in *vain to expect* any help from *Boston*. It being questioned there, what they had to do with those parts, upon which the Inhabitants considered, that if they should tarry there, and spend all their *Provision*, and neither be able to go to Sea, nor yet to live, or be safe a shore for want of help, it were better for them to remove, while they had something left to live upon, and seek employment else where; so by Consent they resolved forthwith to *Transport themselves*, and what they

had saved of their goods to some place of Security, so they took the first opportunity to set sayle, some for Pascataqua, some for Boston, and some for Salem, at one of which three places they all safely arrived.

Having thus escaped at first as *Lot out of Sodom*, but not counting themselves safe in that *Zoar*, where for a little while they made shift to hide their heads, till they might escape to some surer place, there waiting for better times, when they may with peace and quietness return to their former habitations, or seek some other else where.

When the foresaid *Expleits* were done by the Indians in and about *Casco Bay*, several of the *English* removed to *Jewels Island*, where they hoped to be more secure from the Indians, but their barbarous Enemy finding so little Resistance made against them on the main Land, a considerable party of them came with their *Canoes* to destroy that Island also, about three weeks after the aforementioned mischiefs.

There was a fortified house upon the said Island, where the English that either kept upon the Island, or repayed thither, hoped to have secured themselves. But at that time when the Indians assaulted the place, many of the English were absent, few left in the Garrison, but women and Children: some were gone to other places to fetch Indian Corn, others were in a Boat employed about Fish, amongst whom was one *Richard Pots* with two more; The wife of the said *Pots* was washing by the water side, where she was surprized with her Children, and carryed away in sight of her husband, who was not a little distressed with that sad spectacle, but was not able to afford any Relief either to wife or Children, although one of the Children espying his Father in his boat, ran into the water, calling out for help, but an Indian ran after him to catch him up; the poor man in a great Agony being within half shot, was about to have fired upon the Indian, but then fearing he might wound his Child which the Villain had laid hold of, he forbore, rather suffering him to be carryed away alive, then be exposed to so manifest danger of his Life, or Limbs, by shooting at the Indian.

It is said that some of the Indians were killed by them in the Garrison: They speak of a Lad that at one shot killed two or three of them, some Guns were found afterwards under the Fort, which were supposed to have belonged to some of the Indians that were killed. Some that were abroad when the Fort was assaulted, desperately broke in through the Indians, whereby at the last, many of the people were preserved: some flying away from *Jewels Island* in a *Canoe* toward *Richmond Island*, met with a *Keich*, to which they made known the distress the People were in, who thereupon went to the place, and took in all the People they found there,

there, and carryed *them* off to a place of *more safety*. Yet were there several persons said to be *killed and carryed away* at that time, *viz. three men*, who were known to be killed, *two women and two Children*, that are supposed to be yet alive, though in the *Enemies power*.

From thence they went to *Spurwinks*, where they *assaulted* one place or more, and killed *one man*, wounded *another*, and carryed another *away Captive*: Amongst them that were in danger of surprisal, one that *could not run*, hid himself in a garden of *Cabbages* so as he was not found; yet was very *near them*, for he over heard *several questions*, they asked him they took; by which means he was the better enabled afterward to prevent the danger *two more* were coming into; for the *poor Fellow* that they had taken, told them, that one *Ghendal* with another man *were to come that way* by and by; whereupon this man that had hid himself, meeting that *Ghendal* and the other man, gave them notice of the danger, whereby they were *delivered* out of the *snare*, for that time; not long after one of them, *viz. Mr. Ghendal* fell into their hands as shall be declared afterwards. Within a while after, or much about that same time, another *sad Accident* befel *six or seven* of them that belonged to *Casco*. For upon the *twenty third of September* some persons that belonged to a *Sloop*, and a *Schallop*, that were pressed into the *Service* (one Reason of which was to prevent their stragling, they being persons that belonged to those parts about *Casco*) were over desirous to save some of their *Provision*, to which end they first made their Address to *Captain Halborne*, (under whom they were *ordered to serve*) desiring they might be *released*; the *Captain* told them he could not do it, but desired them to *have patience* for a while, they told him, that *they must and would go*, else their Families must *starve at home*: The *Captain* told them further of the danger, and bid them not stir at their peril: However they would go, and soon after went to *Mount-joyes Island* to fetch sheep, where they landed *seven men*; but the *Indians* presently set upon them, they presently betook themselves to the *Ruines of a stone house*, where they defended themselves as long as they could; but at last they were all *destroyed* either with *stones cast in upon them*, or else with the *Enemies shot*, except one, who, though at the first it was hoped his *wounds* were not *mortal*, yet soon after *died thereof*; amongst these was one *George Felt* much lamented, who had been more active then any man in those parts against the *Indians*, but at the last he lost his *own Life* among them, in this too *desperate* an Adventure.

The *Indians* growing more bold by these Attempts in those remote places, drew down nearer towards *Pascataqua*, for not long after a party
of

of them came upon *Cape Nidduck*, where they killed and carryed away all the Inhabitants of a few scattering houses, to the number of *seven in all*, and such was their *Salvage Cruelty* exercised in this place, as is not usually heard of, for having dashed out the brains of a poor woman that gave suck, they nayled the young Child to the dead body of its mother, which was found sucking in that rueful manner, when the People came to the place. The day before a man and his wife were killed by them at *Wells*, and two men more soon after. On the *twelfth of October* following, near an hundred of the Indians made an Assault upon *Black point*, all the Inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, which a few hands might have defended against all the Indians on that side of the Country. But as it seems, one called *Mugg* was the Leader of the Indians; one that had from a Child been well acquainted with the English, and had lived some years in English Families, who though a cunning Fellow, and had prevailed much in his Attempts, yet at this time shewed more Courtesy to the English, then according to former Outrages could be expected from any of those barbarous miscreants; and was willing to make offer of a Treaty to Mr. *Fosselin*, chief of the Garrison, to whom the said *Mugg* promised liberty for all that were there, to depart with their goods upon the surrender of the place: The said *Fosselin* reports, that when he came back from his treating with *Mugg*, that all the People were fled away out of the Garrison, having carryed away their goods by water before his return, insomuch that having none but his Household servants to stand by him, he was capable to make no Resistance, and so surrendered.

When People have once been frightened with Reports and Sense of danger, they are ready to fly away like a *Hart* before the Hunter or his Hounds; one of the Inhabitants of the place affirmed he saw an hundred and fifty Indians, which was more by an hundred than any body else ever saw near the Fort. But when a place is designed to Ruine, every thing they take in hand shall tend that way.

The loss of *Black point* was accompanied with another sad Accident, that fell out about the same time at *Richmonds Island*. For young Mr. *Fryer* with some others at *Pascataqua*, to whom it seemed grievous that the Indians should make all that Spoyle in every place in those farther Plantations, ventured upon the great Importunity of *M. Ghendal* with a Ketch to try what they could save of such things that the Indians had left. But things were so ordered, that before they had laden their Ketch, coming too near the Stage head, they presently found themselves in danger of a surprisal, for part of their Company being a shore

shore, were seized by the Indians, or in danger thereof, whom they were not willing to leave behind; and besides the wind blowing in hard upon them, they could not get out of the Harbour, but were forced to abide the danger of an Assault. The Indians getting many of them into the stage head, annoyed them so fast with their shot, that not a man of them was able to look above deck, but he was in danger of being shot down; amongst the rest Mr. James Fryer venturing too much in view of the Enemy, received a wound in his knee, which appeared not dangerous at the first, but for want of better looking to, then could be found amongst that black Regiment, into whose hands he soon after fell, It proved Mortal unto him, within a few days after; he being by a strange Accident brought home to his Fathers house at the great Island in Pascataqua. Mr. Fryer being thus wounded, the rest of the Company defended themselves for a while with much Courage and Resolution, till they were brought to the sad choice of falling into the hands of one of these three bad Masters, the Fire, the water, or the Barbarous Heathen, to whom at last they thought it best to yield, in hope of liberty afterwards, at least of lengthning out their lives a little longer, for the Indians had manned out a Canoo with several hands to cut their Cable, and others stood ready within the defence of the stage head to fire upon any one that stirred in the Ketch, by which means the Vessel (after the Cable was cut) soon drove a shore; and then was it threatned to be presently burned, if they did not all yeild, to which they all at last consented.

The Indians how barbarous soever in their own nature, yet civilly intreated their Prisoners, and upon farther discourse sent one or two of them to Pascataqua, to give them there an opportunity to Ransome their Friends. The persons sent home to procure a Ransome, were to return with such a quantity of goods as the Indians had desired, by such a precise time: but they that brought the things for their Ransome, coming a day or two before the time, when those that sent them were gone up the River at Black point, and not returned, Some other Indians waiting for such an opportunity seized the goods, at least that part which they most desired, and through mistake, killing one of the three men that brought them, dismissed the other two, without return of the Prisoners as was expected.

As to what hapned afterward, we are yet much in the dark, and for the present can write but by guess: for within a few days after the return of Mr. Ghendal, and the other man that went to carry the Ransome, before November 1. Mugg himself came to Pascataqua,

taqua, bringing *Mr. James Fryer*, who soon after dyed of his wound, one of the Prisoners along with him complaining that *without his knowledge* some of the Indians had seized what was sent for the *Ransome* of the rest, promising upon *his Faith*, that he would make good his word for the sending home all the Prisoners, and offered also in the Name of the other Indians, to confirm a *new Peace* with the *English* for the future: The *Major General* of the *Massachusetts Colony* was then at *Pascataqua*, but not willing to *Transact* a matter of that nature and moment by his *sole Authority*, ordered the said *Mugg* (supposed to be the chief *Leader* of the Indians) to be carryed down to *Boston* to the *Governour and Council* there, to conclude the business, with whom he soon after agreed upon a *firm Peace* with the *English* of the *Massachusetts* in the Name of *Madockawando*, the chief of all the Indians in the *Eastern parts* about *Penobscot*, engaging also to remain himself, as *hostage* aboard the *Vessel* (in which he was sent home from *Boston* *November the 21st following*) until the Prisoners (which are said to be *fifty or sixty* that they have still in their hands) be sent home, and the rest of the *Articles* performed. The Issue of which we as yet wait to hear in Gods good time: this *12th of December* following, 1676. when they there have made an end of the reckoning, 'tis hoped we may have our right again.

There are two *principal Actors* among the Indians that have all along promoted these designs amongst them, one named *Squando*, *Sagamore* of *Saco*, and the forementioned *Madocawando*, the chief *Commander* of the Indians *Eastward* about *Penobscot*, who are said to be, by them that know them, a *strange kinde* of *moralized Salvages*. *Grave and Serious* in their Speech and Carriage, and not without some shew of a *kind of Religion*, which no doubt but they have learned from the *Prince of darkness*, (by the help of some *papist* in those parts) that can *Transform himself into an Angel of Light*; under that shape, the better to carry on the designs of his *Kingdome*. It is said also, they pretend to have received some *Visions and Revelations*, by which they have been commanded to worship the *great God*, and not to work on the *Lords day*. We know where that *Fountain* hath its Rise, that sendeth forth at the same place *sweet and bitter waters*, and from whence their hearts are inspired, that joyn blessing of God, with cursing and killing his *Servants*.

It is reported by some that came lately from those parts, that the Indians there do as yet refuse to have any peace with the *English*, and will not as yet return any of our *Captive Friends*, till God speak to the fore said *Enthusiasts*, that are their *Leaders*, that they should no longer make warr with us, and the like.

But

But not to trouble our selves farther with those *Ministers of Satan*, or those that are acted by the *Angels of the bottomless pit*, (who possibly since their *delusions* are but *two fold* more the *Children of Hell* then they were before) we know better how to understand the minde of the great God of Heaven and Earth then to depend on such lying *Oracles*.

That God who hath at present turned their hearts to hate his People, and deal subtilly with his *Servants*, we hope in his time, will either turn the stream, and cause them to deal friendly and sincerely with his People as heretofore, or give us an opportunity to destroy them.

In the next place it remains, that some account be given of our Forces under Captain Hathorne, and of their several expeditions into the Eastern parts, since the middle of September last; first up towards Casco, by the Sea-side, then afterward through the woods directly Northward, toward Ossage, and Pigwauchet, in hope to have found the Enemy there at their head Quarters.

Upon the first Report of those Devastations and Spoils that had been made by Fire and Sword in those Eastern Plantations, It was judged necessary to send some Forces that way to put a stop unto the current of those Outrages, before the Remainers of the Southern Indians could have opportunity to joyn with them: To that end about an hundred and thirty English, with forty Indians were dispatched away into those parts, under the Command of Captain William Hathorne, Captain Syl, and Captain Hunting, who were to joyne with such as could be raised in those parts, under Major Waldern, and Captain Frost: After they had surprized the Indians that flocked into those parts, (as was Related before) which was done upon September the 6th. 1676. Captain Hathorne who was Commander in chief, marched the Forces by the Sea-side towards Casco; For at that time they were upon some demurre, whether to March directly toward Ossage, and Pigwauchet, where the head Quarters of the Enemy was supposed to be, or else to march directly toward Casco Bay, where they heard parties of the Enemy were daily spoiling the Plantations of the English; At the last it was judged most Expedient, to try if they could not meet with some parties of the Enemy amongst those Plantations near the Sea-side, by that means at last to prevent them from doing more mischief if they could not finde an opportunity to fall upon some of them, and destroy them: But their time was not yet come, nor were all the Desolations as yet accomplished, which God had a purpose to bring about by their means. For notwithstanding there was a sufficient Force to have suppressed all the numbers of the Enemy, if they had been many more

than they were; yet being *emboldened* and *grown subtile* by their former *successes*, they had so dispersed themselves all about the woods in those parts, that when our Forces were in one place, they would be in another, and so did much mischief thereabouts, while our Souldiers were *out after them*: For after they had by several steps in *ten days* time gotten to *Casco*, from *Newchwannick* (about the *eighth of September*) they marched to *Wells*, and from *Wells* to *Winter Harbour*, and so from thence to *Black point* they passed by water, and then arrived at *Casco Bay*, about the *twentieth of September*, yet about that very time, were several of the English cut off at *Mount-joyes Island*, and that in sight of our Forces, when they were not able to come at them, for want of Boats, the Island lying *two Leagues* off in the Bay; (this hapned the *twenty third* of the same month, as was said before, and within *two days* after another party of the Enemy were doing mischief at *Wells*, and *Cape Nidduck* and yet escaped away when they had done.

Nor could our Forces in all their Expedition meet with any of them, but *two*; one of which soon after he was taken, was let go, by the Treachery or Carelessness of them that held him. For when our Forces were come within a few miles of the higher side of *Casco Bay*, some of our *Natick Indian scouts* going in Company with the Indians under *Blind Will*, (a *Sagamore of Pascataqua*, who went in Company with eight of his men, supposed to be good Pilots for the places more *Eastward*) met with some of the Enemy, and laid hold of a couple of them; Justice was done upon one of them, the other, although he was led by two of *Blind Wills Indians*, they made a shift to let go, who escaping away, got over a River, and gave notice to the Indians who were on the other side, & were heard but a little before threshing in a Barn that belonged to one *Anthony Bracket*, (whom they had lately surprized.) Another disappointment our Forces met withal about the same time, for when *Captain Hathorn* was up at *Casco Bay* with his Souldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of Skill in them that were his Scouts, or rather want of Faithfulness in one that should have been his guide, who had got his living by Trading with the Indians, therefore seemed unwilling to have the Brood of them destroyed as was known afterwards, and by that means a party of the Enemy escaped the hands of our Souldiers: Yet it pleased God at one time to bring the Forlorne of our Forces upon a party of the Enemy, who espying the English, presently fled away into the woods, like so many wild Deer; yet one of them, viz. that *J. Sampson* who had been of the Company, that killed *Robinson* the year before, was by the

Special

special hand of Divine Justice, suffered to fall, by some of our Forces : He was a *very lusty, stout man*, and one that was armed with *several sorts of Weapons*, but there is no *weapon* shall defend them, whom death hath a *Commission* to destroy : There is no *Ransome* in that War : The rest of the Indians that were scattered about *Casco Bay*, having discovered our Forces, made their escape : But, we hope their time is short, and that God will find some way to cut off the *bloudy and deceitful Enemies* of his People, and not suffer them to *live out half their dayes*.

But by one such Accident or other, our *Souldiers* could not meet with any of them that had done all the mischief about those parts. And while our Forces lay about *Casco Bay* ; a small party of the Enemy came down upon the Borders of the Town of Wells, where they lay in *Ambush* near a Garrison house, at one end of the Town, and shot down Mr. *James Gouge* from his horse, *September the twenty fourth*, being *Lords day*, as he was going home from the *Meeting* ; and then *knocked down his wife*, giving her several wounds with their Hatchets about the head, of which she dyed within three days after.

The next day *September the twenty fifth*, the same party being not above *seven* in number went toward *York*, and surprized *Cape Nidduck* in a barbarous manner, killing most of the poor people belonging thereunto : Some of their Neighbours hearing of the Guns, came to their *Rescue* : The Indians being on the further side of a River, dared them to come over and *fight with them man to man* : using several Reproachful *Tearms* to them, making a Shot at them also, which some of the Company not being able to bear, did *very resolutely adventure* through the River after them ; but they were not willing to *try the valour* of the *English* ; when they perceived they *found a way* to pass over the *River* upon them, but returned back towards Wells ; where they killed another, one *George Farrow*, *September the twenty seventh*, as he was too carelessly venturing to his house without any Company : These things hapned while our Forces were at *Casco*, where they tarried seven or eight days. And hearing of these Outrages committed in some of those places which they left behind them ; and not being able to meet with any of them in the place where they were, they returned back toward Wells, and *York* ; but the Indians were escaped away into the woods after their Companions, before they came there : Our *Souldiers* having thus spent much time and pains in a fruitless Expedition toward *Casco*, they resolved to venture *another march* after them, up towards *Ossapy*, supposing they might by that time be drawn homewards toward

their *Winter Quarters*; or else, that they might destroy what they had left behind them, to prevent their harbouring there for the future: But it seemed good to him, who by his Sovereign Power and Infinite wisdom ordereth all Events and purposes (wherein his people or others are concerned) to disappoint all endeavours used at that time for the suppressing of the Enemy, or putting any stop to their wonted Successes: For soon after our Forces were returned back from *Casco*, news was brought of the surprisal of *Black point*, on the twelfth of October, as was mentioned before; which notwithstanding, It was judged more adviseable to venture and proceed on with the Expedition toward *Offepoy*, (whether it was supposed by this time, the greatest number of them were retired) rather than to return back again to recover *Black point*, where was nothing to be expected but an empty Fort, and some deserted houses, which it seems the Indians had forsaken by that time.

And besides that other Forces were about the same time ordered to repair thither, sufficient for the repairing & securing of the place, with what else was left remaining from the hands of the Enemy; And likewise several Souldiers were ordered to Garrison the Towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further Assault upon them. However, they were so far emboldned by the taking of *black point*, and the *Ketch* at *Richmond Island* with several Prisoners also which were surprized at the same time; that a party of them came the very next week after, toward *Wells*, hoping to attain that, and all the Towns, and places else betwixt *Casco Bay* and *Pascataqua*, as they had done *Black point*. For a party of them under *Mugg* their chief Leader, brought Mr. *Ghendal* along with them to *Wells*, where they summoned the first Garrison as the Towns end. To facilitate the business, they sent the said *Ghendal* as their Agent, or messenger to move them to surrender, without hazarding an onset; but the people were not so dispondent, to yield up the place upon so slight an occasion; which when the Enemy discerned, they soon drew off, after they had done some little mischief to the Inhabitants: For first they killed *Isaack Littlefield* not far from the garrison: it is said, they would willingly have had him yield himself prisoner, but he refusing, they shot him down yet they were so civil, as to suffer his Friends to fetch away his body, without offering any further act of Inhumanity to it, or hostility toward them that fetcht it off. An old man called *Cross*, was killed by them likewise about the same time, and another, *Joseph Bigford* by name, belonging to the Garrison, was sorely wounded at that time, so as he dyed soon after: Thirteen head of neat Cattle were also killed by them, out of which they only for haste, took the Tongues, leaving the bodies of all the rest whole

whole to the Owners, unless it were the Leg of one of them, which was also taken away.

This was all the mischief was done by them, after the taking of *Black point*: The Inhabitants of *Winter Harbour*, near adjoyning thereto, being alarmed with the surprisal of the other place; fled away with their goods, for a time; till they heard the Enemies were removed farther *Eastward*, and then it was said, they returned to their place again; In this posture have things in those places remained ever since, in those *Eastern Plantations* betwixt *Pascataqua* and *Casco Bay*.

But our Forces under the Command of *Captain Hathorne*, and *Captain Syl*, having at the last obtained all things necessary for a *Winter march* into the woods, did upon the first of *November* following, set forth toward *Ossipy*, where, after four days march of very difficult way, over many Rivers, not easy to pass at that time of the year, they arrived; but found never an *Indian*, either there, or in the way, as they marched along: The *Indians* belonging to those parts, had not many years before hired some *English Traders* to build them a *Fort*, for their security against the *Mohawks*, which was built very strong for that purpose fourteen Foot high with *Flankers* at each corner. But at this time the *Souldiers* intending to disappoint them of their refuge, made fuel thereof, which at that time was very needful for our People, who had marched many miles throughout deep Snow in a very cold Season, when they could hardly keep themselves from freezing as they passed along, so early in the *Winter*: None of the Enemy being to be found there in their strongest *Fort*, It was not counted worth the while for all the Company to march any farther: Wherefore a small party being sent up eighteen or twenty miles farther *Northward* among the woods, where as they passed along they met with many vast *Lakes*, (supposed to be the Cause of the sharpness of the cold, in that side of the Country) making the place scarce habitable for any besides those *Salvages* that use to hunt thereabouts, for *Moose* in the *Winter*, and *Beaver* in the *Summer*, (a sort of Creatures, whose Skins are of more Account than all their bodies.) But at this time it is supposed they were all gone lower toward the Sea side, to share the Spoils of the *English Plantations*, lately surprized by them; which is all the Reward they have met withal, who in former years, for the sake of a little Lucre by Traffick with them, have run themselves there into the very jaws of destruction, either by Irregular dealing with them; or by their too much confidence in their deceitful Friendship.

November the ninth, our Forces having spent nine days in this Service, returned safe to *Newechewannick*, from whence they set forth at the first, having

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having run more hazard of their Limbs, by the sharpness of the Frost, than of their lives by an Assault from their Enemies.

There was great probability that the designe might have had some good Effect, if Mugg a chief Leader of them, did not much abuse those he fled unto, with a proffer of Peace; for he told them that there were about an hundred of them about Ossage, not many days before: But it becomes us to look beyond *second Causes*, in Events of this nature; and conclude, that God had raised up these Barbarous Enemies to bring alike Chastisement upon the English in this side of the Country, with that which others had endured elsewhere, in the end of the former, and beginning of this present year.

Whereas mention was formerly made of a Peace concluded at Boston betwixt the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts, and Mugg an Eastward Indian, in the name of Madockawando chief Sagamore of all the Indians about Penmaquid and Penobscot; which said Mugg, was sent from Boston, November the 21st. with two Vessels, to receive the Prisoners there detained by the Indians, and also to see the Ratification of the several Articles of the said peace concluded upon. Which Articles for the better satisfaction of those that have not been acquainted with them, are thought fit here to be Inserted.

Boston, November the 6th. 1676.

Covenants and Agreements made and concluded by, and between the GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL of the Massachusetts Colony in New-England of the one part: and Mugg Indian, in the Name and behalf of Madockawando, and Chebartina Sachems of Penobscot, on the other part. Witnesseth

Impr. **W**Hereas the said Mugg hath been sent & imployed by the said Sachems upon a Treaty with the said GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL relating to a Conclusion of Peace, doth hereby Covenant and engage for himself, and in behalf of the said Sachemo, that from henceforth they will cease all Acts of Hostility, and hold an entire and firm Union, and Peace with all the English of the Colonies in New-England.

2^{ly}. That immediately upon the said Muggs Return, the said Sachems shall deliver up unto such English man, or men, as shall by order of
of

of the said *Governour* and *Council*, be sent with him, all such *English* *Captives*, *Vessels*, and *Goods* whatsoever, *Arms* and *great Artillery* belonging to the *English*, as are in their *Custody*, or under their *power*, as have been taken from them during the time of the *late Hostility*.

3^{ly}. That they will use their uttermost endeavour with all possible speed to procure pay; wherewith to make full satisfaction unto the *English* for all such *Injuries*, *Losses*, and *Damages*, as they have sustained by them, in their *housing Cattle*, or other *Estate*, during the time of the *late Hostility*; or else to pay such a number of *Beaver Skins*, yearly, in order thereunto, as shall be agreed on between the said *Sachems*, and such person or persons as shall be sent unto them from the said *Governour* and *Council* for the *Ratification* hereof, to be paid at such time and place as shall be then agreed upon.

4^{ly}. That upon Consideration of the *English* furnishing of them with *Powder* and *Ammunition* for their necessary *Supplyes* and *maintenance*, they do *Covenant* and *promise* not to *Trade* for, or buy any *Powder*, or *Ammunition*, but of such persons as shall from time to time be deputed by the *Governour* for that end.

5^{ly}. That if it do appear that *Walter Gendal* and the men sent with him in the *Vessel* from *Pascataqua* (with *Goods* from *Mr. Fryer* for the *Redemption* of the *Captives* according to *Agreement*) or any of them are surprized and slain by any of their *Indians*, or any others whom they can bring under their power, that they shall forthwith Execute such *Murderer*, or *Murderers*, or otherwise, deliver them up into the hands of the *English*.

6^{ly}. That if the *Amonos Coggin*, or any other *Indians* in the *Eastern parts*, that are in *Hostility* with the *English*, shall not fully Consent unto these *Covenants* and *Agreements*, but shall persist in *Acts of Hostility* against the *English*, that then the said *Sachems* shall, and will hold all such *Indians* to be their *Enemies*, and take up *Arms* against them, and engage them as such,

Lastly. The said *Mugg* as a *Pledge* and *Assurance* of his own *Fidelity*, and that he is *impowred* by the said *Sachems* for the end *aforesaid*, and for the performance of the *aforementioned Agreements*, doth *freely* and *willingly deposite himself*, and his *Life* in the hands of the *English*; to remain with them as a *Hostage* until the said *Captives, goods* and *Vessels* shall be delivered up.

Boston, Novemb. 13. 1676.
Signed in the Presence of

The mark of
Mugg W Indian

John Earthy.
Richard Oliver.
Isaack Addington.

The said *Mugg* lifting up his hand to *Heaven* for the true performance thereof, esteemed among them, a *strong Obligation* to perform what they promise.

Things were so ordered by the good *Providence of God*, that the said *Vessels* arrived safely at *Penobscot* in the beginning of the next month, where they found the said *Madockawando*, who was ready to confirm and make good the *Articles of the Peace* concluded at *Boston* by his *Agent* in his Name; And was willing also to deliver all the *Prisoners* that were then in his *Power*, or under his *Command*, which were but two, who were taken in the *Vessel* at *Richmonds Island*, the *twelfth* of *October* last. The said *Mugg* likewise being sensible of the *Obligation* he lay under, to make good his word, did venture to go up himself to another *Plantation* of the *Indians*, where was supposed some more of the *English Prisoners* were, to see whether he could obtain their *Release*, as also to perswade with the rest of the *Indians* thereabouts to joyn in the *confirmation of the Peace*; It appeared to the persons belonging to the *Vessels*, that the said *Mugg* went with some *Reluctancy*, as fearing the *Indians* he was going amongst, would either kill him, or keep him *Prisoner*; To which end, he ordered the *Commanders* belonging to the *Vessels* to tarry for him, about *three days*, or *four at the most*, assuring them, that if he did not return by that time, they might certainly conclude that either his *Life* or *Liberty* was taken from him; however the *Vessels* tarried about or near a week beyond the time limited, in expectation

tion of his coming ; But after *so long stay*, they neither seeing, nor hearing from him, were ready to *fear the worst*, viz. that his Country men had *made him sure* from having more to do with the *English*. Whereupon for fear of being *shut up* by the *sharpness* of the *Winter* from returning themselves, they took the opportunity of the next *fair wind* of setting Sayle for *Boston*, (only turning in to *Pemmaquid* to see if they could hear any *farther News* there) where they arrived with *such Prisoners*, as were freely delivered by *Madockawando*, the *twenty fifth* of *December* following, *Anno*, 1676. Amongst which Prisoners, besides the two forementioned, who were found at *Penobscot*, there was a third, by a more *remarkable providence* then ordinary, added unto them, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, Son of that *Reverend and worthy Minister* of the *Gospel*, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, (*Pastor* of the Church at *Ipswich*, a Town within the *Massachusetts Jurisdiction*) who had all the time of his *Sons Captivity* together with his friends *wrestled with God* in their *daily Prayers* for his *Release*, and accordingly he was with the more *joy received* by his friends, as an *Answer* and *Return* of their *prayers*. The said young man had lived with *Mr. Fryer*, *Merchant* of *Portsmouth* for some years before, and had been oft at Sea with *Mr. James Fryer* the eldest Son of the said *Merchant*, and who had after much *Experience* of his *Faithfulness*, *dexterity*, and *Courage* on all such *Accompts*, borne him so much *Respect*, that when he was urged by his Father to go along with *Mr. Ghendal*, as was said before, he would not venture unless his Friend *Thomas Cobbet* would go along with him ; the *which Service* he only for his Friends sake accepted, which proved a *fatal Adventure* to *Mr. James Fryer*, and might have done to the other also, had not God otherwise disposed of him, having, as is hoped, *mere Service* for him in the *Land of the living*. Amongst all the prisoners at that time taken, the said *Thomas Cobbet* seemed to have had the *hardest portion* : For besides the *desperate dangers* that he escaped, before he was taken, *First*, by a *bullet*, shot through his *Waist Coat*, *Secondly*, by a *drunken Indian*, who had a *knife* at his *Throat* to cut it, when his hands were bound ; when the Indians came to *share the prisoners* amongst them, he fell into the hands of one of the *ruggeddest Fellows*, by whom within a few days after his *surprizal*, he was carryed first from *Blackpoint*, to *Shipscoot River* in the *Keich*, which the Indians made them to *Sayl* for them, into the said *River*, from thence he was forced to travel with his *Pateroon* *Four or five miles* overland to *Damaniscottee*, where he was compelled to *row or paddle* in a *Canoo* about *fifty five miles* farther to *Penobscot*, and there *taking leave* of all his *English Friends* and acquaintance,

acquaintance, at least for the *Winter*, he was put to paddle a *Canoo* up *fifty* or *sixty* miles farther *Eastward*, to an *Island* called *Mount Desert*, where his *Pateroon* used to keep his *winter station*, and to appoint his *hunting Voyages*; and in that *Desert-like* Condition was the *poor young man* forced to continue *nine weeks* in the *Service* of a *Salvage* *miserant*; who sometimes would *Tyrannize* over him, because he could not understand his *Language*, and for want thereof, might occasion him to *miss* of his *Game*, or the like. What ever sickness he was obnoxious unto, by *change of dyet*, or other account, he could expect no other allowance than the *Wigwam* will afford: If *Jeseph* be in the *Prison*, so long as *God is with him* there; he shall be preserved, and in due time remembered.

After the end of the *nine weeks*, the *Indian* whom he was to serve, had spent all his *powder*, whereupon on the sudden he took up a *Resolution* to send his *young man* down to *Penbscot* to *Mounsier Casfeen* to procure more *powder* to kill *Moose and Deer*, which it seems is all their way of living at *Mount Desert*; The *Indians* was certainly *over ruled* by *Divine providence* in sending his *Captive* down thither, for a few days before, as it seems, after the *Indians* in that place, had been *pow-awing* together, he told him, that there were *two English Vessels* then come into *Pemmaquid*, or *Penobscoet*, which proved so indeed: yet was it not minded by him surely, when he sent his *Captive* thither for *powder*, for it proved the means of his *escape*; which his *Pateroon* might easily have conjectured, if it had not been hid from him. As soon as he Arrived at *Penbscot*, he met with *Mugg*, who presently saluted him by the Name of *Mr. Cobbet*, and taking him by the hand, told him, he had been at his *Fathers house*, (which was *November the first or second* before, as he passed through *Ipswitch* to *Boston*) and had promised to send him home, so soon as he returned. *Maddock* and taking notice of what *Mugg* was speaking that way, although he were willing that he should be released according to *Agreement*, (his *Pateroon* being one of this *Sagamores Subjects*, though during the *Hunting Voyage* of the *winter*, he lived at such a distance from him) began to demand something for satisfaction, in a way of *Ransome*, not understanding before that his *Father* was a great *Preachman*, as they use to call it: Reply was made to him, that he should have something in lieu of a *Ransome*, viz. a *fine Coat*, which they had for him aboard the *Vessel*; the which the *Sagamore* desired to see, before he would absolutely grant his *Release*: but upon sight of the said *Coat*, he seemed very well satisfied, and gave him free liberty to return home. Whilst this *Mr. Thomas Cobbet* was a Prisoner

Prisoner at *Mount Desert* going along with the Indians to hunt, in an extream cold day; he was so overcome with the sharpness thereof, that all his Senses were suddenly benumbed, so as he fell down upon the Snow, not being able to stir hand or foot, and had without doubt there perished in a little time, but that the Indians he was going along with, missing him, presently ran about the woods to seek him, and when they found him, they were either so pitiful to him, or so careful of their own good, as not to cast away a likely young man, from whom they expected either much service, or a good Ransome, for want of a little Care, and pains to preserve his life; wherefore, taking him upon their shoulders, they carryed him into the next Wigwam, so as he soon after revived, and came to himself again, without any farther mischief.

At another time, the *Salvage Villain* whose Prisoner he was, so long as he had strong Liqueur, for five days together was so drunk, that he was like a furious mad Beast, so as none durst come near him, his Squaws he almost brained in one of those drunken fits.

The said Thomas was forced to get out of his sight into the woods all that night, for fear of being mischiefed by him. Where making a fire he kept himself alive: The Squaws being by Gods special Providence so inclined to pity, that they came to him daily with *Viſtuals*, by which means he was at that time also preserved: All which put together, makes his Deliverance the more Remarkable, as an Answer of prayer.

As for the Rest of the Prisoners, (which are said to be fifty or sixty) They were left with them who first surprized them at *Kennibeeck*, and *Shipscot River*: The Women are imployed it seems to sow and make Garments for them; They having plundered much English goods at *Arowsick*. They are so much elevated with their late successes, in spoiling so many of the English habitations, that they seem not very ready to bearken to Terms of peace, as their Sagamore *Maddockawando* doth desire: Nor are the English able to come near them with any of their Forces this Winter season, in regard both of the Remoteness of the place, and sharpness of the Cold, which uses to be extream in those parts: How their hearts may be inclined in the following year, or what the English may be enabled to do against them, is known unto God only, on whom we desire to wait for a comfortable Issue of these our Troubles. But until they have spent all the plunder that is taken, it is no doubt, but they will seem averse from having peace; As others to the Westward did, whose hearts were hardened against all proffers of that nature, till they were destroyed; Possibly some Remnants of them that escaped in those other parts, are got hither amongst these, and do animate them all they can in

Hostility against us, till they make these as miserable as themselves, and so forced at the last to fly their Country. Many have been the Troubles we have met withal from these our Barbarous Neighbours round about us, but God we trust will deliver us out of them all, as he hath promised to do for the Righteous, who may in the darkest night of Affliction say, Light is sown for them, which shall spring up in the appointed Time thereof.

No farther News came to hand concerning the *English Prisoners* at *Kennibeck*, after the Return of *Captain Moor* from *Penobscot*, till the fifth of *January*. When one *Francis Card* with another young man formerly an Inhabitant of some place about *Kennibeck*, or of *Arowsick*, (but then a *Prisoner* with the *Indians*,) made an escape from the *Indians*, and so got over *Casco Bay*, and then to *Black point*, from thence he was conveyed to *Pascataqua* soon after, and then to *Boston*.

The manner of his escape, as he reports was this: He was employed by the *Indians* to thresh *Corn* at a *Barn* a little lower in the *River* than the place where the *Indians* commonly kept, being trusted alone, to go and come of himself, because there was no suspicion of any coming to carry him away, or seeming possibility to get away without being discovered, he found means to plot with another young man, who was sent to look horses; whose flesh it seems is by those wild *Salvages*, preferred before the best *Beef*, so as having their choice of both, they took what they liked best; And this being the *Employment* of the young man, he had the fitter opportunity when he was in the woods to make any *Contrivance* to get away. Thus being resolved upon their designe, they provided necessities accordingly, and sent such a *Messenger* home to their *Masters*, as might occasion them not to expect them very soon that night; Thus resolved, they marched away, as soon as ever they perceived the *Coast* was clear; And having provided a *Canoo* accordingly fit for the designe, by the help of it they got over the waters, by which they were to pass, which were not frozen; And in the night time turned into a *Swampe*, where they might make a fire to keep them from starving with the Cold, without being discerned; So as within two or three days they recovered the *Fort*, and *Garrison* at *black point*, from whence they were soon conveyed to *Boston*.

This *Francis Card* made this Relation of matters when he came to *Boston*, viz. that the *Prisoners* which he left behind were well, and not much misused, only put to do the *Servile work* about the *Indians*: wo must it needs be with *Christians*, when put not only to sojourn, but to serve in those *Tents of Kedar*. Such of the women as were gifted at
knitting

knitting and Sewing, were improved to make stockings and garments for their *Paturoons*: So as it seems the *Ware house* at *Arowsick* furnished them with *Cloth*, *Stuff*, and *Linnen*, and the *Inhabitants* served for *Artificers* to cut it out, and make it up.

He reported also that the *Indians* *spake nothing of any Peace*; but rather being *heighned* with their late and great *Successes*, were *contriving* how to get possession of the other places in the hands of the *English*, on that side of the *Country*, which *God forbid should ever come to pass*; but finding so *easy work* of their former *Exploits*, they hope they shall accomplish their purposes with the like facility in all other places where they come.

It seems *Squando* is their chief *Leader*, that *Enthusiastical*, or rather *Diabolical Miscreant*; who yet hath put on a garbe of *Religion*, and orders his people to do the like; performing *Religious worship* amongst the *Indians* in his way, yet is supposed to have very familiar *Converse with the Devil*, that appears to him as an *Angel of Light* in some shape or other very frequently. This *Francis Card* also affirmeth, that there is nothing so great a number of the *Indians* as is here reported, for he saith, when they were going out upon some *designe*, while he was in their hands, he had not opportunity to count them all, and could find but ninety eight of them, that were men: Neither could he discern that there were any of the *Western Indians*, unless *Simon and Andrew*, that formerly escaped out of *Dover Prison*: Although it was before apprehended there were multitudes of them flocked thither.

Francis Card his Declaration of their Beginning, August the Fourteenth.

The *Indians* came to *Richard Hammonds*, and there killed *Richard Hammond*, *Samuel Smith*, *Joshuah Grant*, there parting their *Company*, Eleven men came up *Kennibeck River* to my house, and there took me, and my *Family*. Therefore the rest of their *Company* went to *Arowsick*, and there took the *Garrison*: about a *Fortnight* after came down *Kennibeck River*, and so went down to *Damaris Cove*, and there burnt houses, and killed *Cattle*, there coming back parted their *Company*, one party went to *Jewels Island*, and the other party went to *Saga-de-Hock*, being in number *Eighty one*; Those that went to *Saga de-Hock* took a *Shallop*, from thence came to *Kennibeck River*, and then went to killing and destroying of *Cuttei* and housing, for they had Intelligence of a *Keich* and a *Shallop* at *Damaris Cove*, and going there they took the *Shallop*, and killed two men, being in number about *Eighty*; The next day made up

up their *Forces*, went out to *Black point*, being about one hundred fighting men, and are now in two *Forts* about sixty at a place, with six or eight *Wigwams* between the two *Forts*.

Now the best place to land men is in *Casco Bay*, and in *Kennibeeck River*, the one place being eight miles, the other about fourteen miles from the *Fort* where I was kept : And if the *Army* do not go now with speed, they will be gone forty miles farther up in the Country ; at the first taking of me they carryed me up to *Taconet*, and the men coming down they brought me and two men more down for fear of our killing their women and Children, for they kept their *Women* and *Children* at *Taconet* all the *Summer*. As soon as the warm weather doth set in, they do intend to go away to *Taconet*, and there to build two *Forts*, for there is their fishing places, and planting ground. *Squando* doth inform them that God doth speak to him, and doth tell him that God hath left our *Nation* to them to destroy, and the Indians do take it for a Truth all that he doth tell them ; because they have met with no *Affront*. Now *Mugg the Rogue*, he being come again to the *Fort*, he doth make his *Brags* and laughs at the *English*, and saith that he hath found the way to burn *Boston*, and doth make *Laughter* at your kinde *Entertainment*, they make their brags now they do intend to take *Vessels*, and so to go to all the fishing *Islands* ; and so to drive all the Country before them, so reckoning to be a great Number in the Spring: there is a great many Indians at *Cannada* that have not been out this *Summer*, both of *Kennibeeck* and *Damarascoggin*, therefore a great many of these Indians at *Kennibeeck* do intend to go to *Canada* in the Spring to them. And they do give Gifts both of *Captives*, and of Goods to the *Eastern Indians*, to have them to go out with them ; but as yet I do not know what they will do. For *Madockawando* and *Squando* are of several Judgments, and so have parted, and *Madockawando* doth pretend love to the *English*, they do use our *English Captives* as civilly as we can expect by such a People. That this is Truth is declared by me *Francis Card*, Jan. the 22. 1676.

By the Report which he brings it doth not appear so difficult a matter to make an Attempt to recover the place, and destroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended : Insomuch, as that designe, that was under debate before the GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL a little before, and was let fall for the present, as a matter not Feasible, hath since been set a foot with a fresh Resolution. And another thing also occurred about the same time, which put new Life into the said designe, viz. an apprehension that there were several of the *Narrhagansets*

gansets scattered about in these woods near *Pascataqua*, who it was feared might joine with those of *Kennibeck* in the Spring, and so come down upon the English Plantations, and spoyle them all that are thereabouts. For soon after *Francis Card* coming to *Boston*, some of *Major Walderns* Indians at *Quechecho*, as they were hunting in the woods chanced to meet with three strange Indians, the which had Guns, at least two of them; but those of *Quechecho* were without. The other Indians began to insinuate into them, to see if they could make way for their acceptance with the *English*: Those Indians that this motion was made unto, in a most perfidious manner gave them encouragement in the business; And appointed a place where to meet them the next day, saying, they would not have them now go home with them to their *Wigwams*, least their *Women* and *Children* should be frighted with the sight of their Guns; All which was spoken upon a Treacherous Account, by that means to betray them, for they had neither *Women* nor *Children* at their *wigwams*; but not having Guns themselves, as the other had, they durst not then seize upon them: The next day therefore according to Appointment, their guests expecting a Treaty, and a Friendly Compliance, (yet coming apart, as was ordered the day before to be the more easily surprized) arrived at the place Appointed; And there presently the first being thus Treacherously brought into the snare was dispatched out of hand. The like was also done to the second; The third was not at such a distance, but he either discerned or suspected, what became of his Fellows, and therefore made the more haste to escape: but his deceitful Friends were too quick for him, who shot him down before he could get out of their reach: So as they took him alive, as is said; but he could not live much longer by Reason of his wounds: These *Quechecho* Indians cut off the Scalps of their poor Countrymen, (which is their usual manner, when it is too far to carry the heads) which being brought to *Major Walderns* Indians, they were presently discerned to be *Narragansets* by the cut of their hair. This instance is a sufficient Evidence of the Subtilty, guile, and Falshood natural to all these Indians; and may satisfie any Rational person, what little trust there is to be put in their words, promises, or Engagements, though never so solemnly made, farther then they that make them see Advantage in the keeping and performing. Subtilty, malice, and Revenge, seems to be as inseparable from them, as if it were part of their Essence.

What ever hopes may be of their Conversion to *Christianity* in after Time, there is but little appearance of any Truth in their hearts at present, where so much of the contrary is so ordinarily breathed out of their mouths.

These

These were the manner of the Gentiles in former times, while they remained *Children of Disobedience*, until they were renewed after another *Image*: Nor are these *uncapable Subjects* for *Divine grace* to work upon, yet are there some *natural vices* proper to every Nation in the world, as *Paul* speaks of the Grecians, from the *Testimony* of one of their own *Poets*.

But to Return; these things so concurring, and several Gentlemen from about *Pascataqua* repaying to *Boston*, so represented the states of things *Eastward* before the *GOVERNOUR* and *COUNCIL*, as that it was apprehended not only necessary, but *Feasible* also to suppress the foresaid Indians in those parts: Whereupon it was forthwith concluded that an Expedition should be made against them; To which end two hundred Souldiers, whereof about sixty were of the *Natick Indians*, that have given good proof of their *Valour*, and *Faithfulness* to the English; All which were immediately dispatched away, the first week in February by water, under the Conduct of Major Waldern as Commander in chief; A person well approv'd for his *Activity*, as well as *Fidelity* and *Courage* in concernments of that nature: They had to Encounter with *Rough* and *contrary winds*, and much *cold weather* the first week after their setting forth; But having so much Experience of the favour and goodness of the *Almighty*, who is wont always to be present with his Servants in like Cases, though he hath often for a time deferred for the tryal of their *Faith*, and exercise of their *patience*; yet useth not to fail his people, that put their trust in him, and diligently seek his face; A solemn time being appointed for that end; To the which we expect a comfortable Answer: we that have sent forth our Friends on the publick Service, being thus engaged to follow them with Prayers, at the present in silence wait upon the *Lord of Hosts* to give a blessing to the designe; Hoping our Friends in this necessary, though difficult Service, thus called forth, have gone out with the like Encouragement, and Resolution, that sometimes *Joab* did; *Let us be of good Courage, and play the men for our people, and for the Cause of our God; And let the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*

Upon the Eleventh of February two Indian Squaws, that had run away from Major Walderns in the beginning of winter, out of discontent, because the husband of one of them, and some of the Relations of the other were sent away, came back again with more *wu*, than they carryed with them, though with less flesh upon their backs: for having wandered up towards *Pigwacket*, till they were almost starved there, they say, some Indians were seen by them, pretending they were going to the head
of

of *Conecticut River*, with *Hostile Intent*s against the English; but they going away as they did, little heed is given to the *Storyes* they tell upon their *Return*.

February the nineteenth following, *John Abbot*, the Master of Mr. *Fryers Ketch* taken *October* the Twelfth, before at *Black Point*, came in to the *Isle of Shoales*, having made a desperate *Adventure* to escape; he gave a more probable Account of things in those parts.

He saith, they were first carryed to *Shipscot River*, where the Vessel in which they were taken, was moored for all the *Winter*: In which time, the Indians having spent all their *Ammunition*, and most of their *provision*, counted it high time now to be looking out for more: to which end, they caused the said *Abbot* to fit up the Vessel, (being a *pinnace* of about *thirty Tun*) as well as he could, with such assistance as they could afford him; and ten of them shipped themselves in the same, intending for *Penobscot*; from thence to *Sayl* up that River, as far as they could, and then leaving their Vessel to proceed on with their *Canooes*, as high up the River as the stream would permit, and so to pass on to *Cannada* to buy powder of the *French* there; It being at this time two and thirty *Shillings* a pound amongst the Indians at *Kennibeeck*. But as providence ordered it, after these *Marriners* were launched into the deep, a small storm with a contrary wind began to arise; of which the *English Skipper* found ways in his steering to make the danger seem more than really it was, inso much that they resolved to put in at *Cape-bona-waggon*, three Leagues to the Eastward of *Shipscot*, where eight of them went a shore, leaving two Indians aboard with the *English Skipper*: After he had got so well rid of them, he contrived how to get shut of the other also: Therefore he perswaded them, that the Vessel would not ride safely in that place, so as he prevailed with them to let him go to another Harbour, called *Damaris Cove*, two or three Leagues more Eastward: In the way as he *Sayled*, he so ordered his steering, that sometimes the waves were ready to overtake the Vessel, which put his two Indians into a fright, so as they made all the hast they could to get a shore, as soon as ever they came within the Harbour, urging him to go along with them; but he pretended a necessary Excuse to stay behind to look after the Vessel but with intent, as soon as ever he should see them a shore, to *boyse Sayl* for some *English Harbour*, having no body aboard with him, but a small *English Child* about three years old: It seems the Indians had a Child or two of their own dead in the Vessel, who dying after they began their Voyage, they were the forwarder to go a shore with them, for *buryal*: The said *Abbot* now perceiving he had obtained his purpose; (for he oft resolv'd

on this Project before) first tallowing the Mast with a piece of fat Pork left by the Indians, as high as he could reach; that he with his own hands might the more easily boyse the Sayl, so choosing rather to cast himself upon the Providence of God in the waters, than to trust himself any longer with perfidious Salvages on the dry Land; he came safe to Isle of Shoales before the Evening of the next day, February the nineteenth.

Within a few days after John Abbot aforesaid, made his escape in the Vessel; There came an exprefs from Major Waldern that commander in chief over our Forces sent to Kennibeeck to subdue the Indians in those parts, & deliver the English Captives that have been detained in their hands, since August last, which giveth this account of their proceeding.

February the seventeenth, this morning the wind North East, soon after South, and South West, we sat Sayl with our Vessels from Black point, for Portland, but on the East-side of Cape Elizabeth, we espyed John Pain, (who was sent out a Scout) who brought word the way was clear of Ice, and Indians whereupon we steared for Mary point at the head of Casco Bay, and got there this night, but too late to get to the Fort before morning.

February the eighteenth, we sent this morning our Scouts out by Land, who returning about eight of the Clock brought word they espyed the Tracts of three Indians, and found a Birch Canoo at Muckquet about four miles off, by which we feared we were discovered, the Companyes about four a Clock were drawn forth, and just beginning their march, when we espyed five Canoos of the Enemy about half amile off, they landed over against us on an Island, and holloed to us, whereby we perceived they desired a Treaty, hoping to gain the Captives; we sent John Pain to them, they promised him to bring the Captives by morning, and desired peace: After this John Pain was sent again, and stayed among the Indians in the room of Simon, who came to the Major, he was questioned, and Answered as followeth.

Quest. How came you to know we were here?

Answ. We continually keep out our Scouts, & yesterday our Indians left a Canoo at Muckquitt which this day we missed, and perceived the English had taken it, and our men that left the Canoo, espyed you a great way off at Portland.

Quest. Why did you break your covenant with me.

Answ. Blind Will stirred us up to the War here, and said, he would kill you at Quechecho; Simon having said this, askt the Major what his business was here? to whom it was Answered, we came to fetch off the Captives and make War as we see good, Simon also told us that the Captives

Captives were all well, that we should have them by morning, that Squando was there, and would give the Captives to Major Waldern: that they intended peace, and had sent to Boston before now, but that Mugg told them the English would be here shortly.

The Major upon this dismissed Simon, and sent for Squando, to which Squando Answered, he would meet him half way if he would come alone in a Birch Canoo. To this the Major Answered, he would not venture himself in your Leakie Canoo, and that if he had no more to say, the Treaty was ended: To this Squando Answered, he would be with us again at Ten a Clock, and bring the Captives..

On the Nineteenth, Wind North East, the weather thick, about Noon we discovered a party of Indians in fourteen Canoos about three mile above us in the Bay: they landed on a point of Land and burnt one English house, and shouted to some of our men that were Scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on the Return of our Scouts we marched against them as secretly as we could: upon sight of us they fled; but Captain Frost came upon them with his whole body before they were half out of Gun shot: in this Skirmish, we judged we killed and wounded several of them without any damage, yet some of their Bullets hit some of our men. For the Captives sake immediately after this, we hung out a Flag of Truce, and the Enemy did the like: John Pain was sent to them to demand the Reason why they fired the house, and brake their promise,

Simon met him half way, and Answered, the house was fired Accidentally without Order from Squando: that they had sent for the Captives who were a great way off, and the foul weather hindred their coming: He questioned John Pain also why he sought them while we were in Treaty.

Pain Answered they brake it themselves in not performing their promise, challenging our Souldiers to fight, this latter Simon denyed, and Answered the other as before: Simon told him they had two men wounded, and expected satisfaction, but also promised the Captives the next day, and so left us.

On the twentieth, the wind North East, and Snow, it was resolved to Sayl for Kennebeck the first fair wind, whether we had immediately gone, upon our knowledge, that we were discovered by the Enemy, but that the winde and weather hindred us hitherto.

February the twenty first, this morning the wind North West, we set Sayl for Kennibek, and arrived at the Harbours mouth at four a Clock: About Sun set we set Sayl up the River, and got to the lower end of Arrowsick,

Twenty second, we set Sayl this morning, but could not get to the head of the River for Ice, whereupon we landed our Souldiers about two a Clock, about twelve miles off *Aboundessit Fort*, and immediately began our march, about eight a Clock at night came to the Fort, we found no Indians, there we took up our Quarters this night.

Twenty third we sent out Scouts to discover the march of the Enemy, but found so many Tracts every way, that we knew not what way to follow them; At a Council of War it was resolved that Major Waldern should Sayl for *Penobscot*, with two of the Ketches, and part of the Souldiers to seek after the Captives, and fight the Enemy if he had opportunity: the rest to build a Garrison. In the absence of our Forces, the Vessels espyed several Fires below the River, and one English house was burnt, about Sun set, the Souldiers returned to the Vessels.

Twenty fourth this morning the Major with two Boats and a Shallop went two spy out a place to settle a Garrison, and found one against the lower end of *Arowsick Island*, and the Vessels are brought to it.

Twenty fifth, We rested here this Sabbath.

John Bakers house opposite to the lower end of *Arowsick*, being judged the most convenient place for their purpose, as well for the convenience of water for the Souldiers, as of a Cove wherein Ships might Ride, within Command thereof, their Vessels therefore were immediately Anchored there, where they rested on the Lords day, February the twenty fifth.

The next day according to the Advice of the Commanders, Major Waldern embarked sixty men in two Vessels, with which he set Sayl immediately for *Penobscot*, leaving the rest to be employed in making preparation for settling a Garrison in the said place.

In their way, off from *Gy-obscot point*, they espyed two Indians in a Canoo, that waved their Caps, as if they desired speech with them. *John Pain* and *Wat. Ghendal* were presently sent; they gave them Intelligence that many Indians were at *Pemmaquid* with English Captives, upon which they bent their course thither, where arriving they Anchored at four a Clock, the same day; soon after two Indians hollowed to them from Mr. *Gardners Fort*. *John Pain* was sent a shore to enquire who they were, and what was become of the Captives: Sundry sorts of Indians were found upon the place, with several Sagamores, the chief of whom, was *Mattahando*, who told them he was glad to see English men there, and that he desired peace, and promised to deliver such Captives as were at *Penobscot*, then next morning; adding also, that he desired to speak with Captain *Davis*. After *John Pain* returned to the

Major

Major, he was sent back with the said *Davis*, and staid a shore, till three *Sagamores* went a board, and signified as much to *Major Waldern*, as they had said before to *John Pain*. While they were in discourse, an *English Captive* was espyed in a *Canoo* with his *Pateroon*, with whom they desired to speak, but it was not granted at that time, he being carryed farther up the River out of sight.

Soon after the *Major* went a shore with six men, yet carrying no *Armes* with them. He found their words smother than Oyl, yet were there drawn Swords in their hearts, of which some of their actions, gave no small ground of Suspition: for they deferred all till the next morning; nor were they willing to let the man that was espyed before in the *Canoo* come aboard to see his Friends without leaving an *Hostage* in his room, of which the *Major* was very glad, that he might have an opportunity of a little discourse with one whom they might trust. When they returned from the shore, a sign was promised to be given for the Appearance of the Indians by the firing of three Guns. The next morning, February the twenty seventh, the *Major* with the same number as before, went to Treat with them: They with *John Pain* having first hollowed to them; upon their coming a shore their persons were searched on both sides, and all *Arms* laid aside. The whole Forenoon was spent in a Treaty, whereat they seemed much to rejoyce in expectation of a Peace with the English; yet when *Major Waldern* desired a present delivery of the *Captives*, with Assistance of men and *Canoos* to fight the *Monocoggin* Indians, Enemies to them both, it was denied, though they could not have had a fitter Testimony of their Fidelity.

They alleaged that the *Captives* were given them by *Kennibeeck* Indians, and they must have something for keeping them all Winter, and therefore were not willing to let them go without Ransome; And for their *Canoos*, they said they had them in present Service, being then bound for *Penobscot*. The price demanded, viz. twelve Skins a person, was yeilded to; upon which they presently delivered *William Chadburn*, *John Whinnick*, and *John Worwood*, which were all that they would own, or could be proved they had.

That part of the pay, which was to be in *Liquor*, was presently laid down, the rest was promised to be sent in the Afternoon. The Commanders debated what was farther to be done, one or two of the old *Sagamores*, (who were believed) seemed sincere about the Peace, professed that none of them had any hand in the War, but only some of their young men, whom they could not Rule: But several of the Company affirming they saw some of the said Indians at *Casco* engaged in Hostility against

against the English, it was resolved not to enter into any *League of Peace* with them, but rather to *fight them*, or *surprize them* after they had dispatched the business about the *Captives*.

This being determined, the *Major* with five of his men went a shore, with part of the *Ransome*, the better to beget a *Confidence* in them; and then presently to return aboard, and fit his men for farther *Service*; But if he had not wisely provided against all *Exigencies* afore hand, he might have been prevented from ever going aboard more; for stepping aside a Rod or two from the place, for better *Circumspection*, he espied the point of a *Lance* from under aboard, hid there, as were other Arms near by for a *Treacherous* designe that was in their mindes, soon after, upon the receiving the rest of the pay, to have been put in *Execution*. Whereupon *Major Waldern* took up the *Lance*, and came towards them, charging them with *Falshood* and *Treachery*, for hiding weapons just by, wherewith to destroy them as soon as they had delivered the goods: The *Indians* discovered their *guiltiness* by their *Countenances*, some of them making towards him, thinking to get the said weapon out of his hands; but he bid them stand off, threatening to kill every one that offered to touch him; And immediately waved his *Cap* over his head, (which was the designe agreed upon, for the *Souldiers* to come all a shore, in Case of need) upon which *Token* the *Souldiers* all halted away. In the mean while the *English* that went a shore to wait upon the *Major*, were forced to bestir them, both to secure the goods from being carryed away, and to defend *Major Waldern*: Some of the *Squaws* with others of the *Enemy* ran away, one of them catched up a *Bundle* of *Guns* that were hid near by, and ran away with them, *Captain Frost* seized an *Indian* called *Megunnaway*, a *Notorious Rogue*, (that had been in *Armas* at *Connecticut* last *June*, at the *Falls*, and saw that brave and *Resolute Captain Turner*, when he was slain about *green River*; and helped to kill *Thomas Bracket* at *Casco*, *August* last.) And with the help of *Lieutenant Nutter*, according to the *Majors Order* carryed him aboard, while himself searching about farther found three *Guns* hid in a *Cow-house* just at hand, wherewith he armed the other three men that were with him: By this time some of the *Souldiers* were got a shore, and instantly according to their *Majors Command* pursued the *Enemy* towards their *Canoos*; In the *Chase*, several of the *Enemies* were slain, whose bodies they found at their *Return*; to the number of seven, amongst whom was *Mattahando* the *Sagamore*, with an *old powaw*, to whom the *Devil* had revealed, as sometimes he did to *Saul*, that on the same day he should be with him: for he had a little before told the *Indians*, that within two days, the

English

English would come and kill them all, which was at the very same time verified upon himself: The body of our men overtook them before they all recovered their *Canoos*, so as without doubt, divers others of them were slain likewise: for they sunk a *Canoo*, wherein were five drowned before their Eyes: and many others were not able to paddle: four they took Prisoners, whom they brought away with them. There being about five and twenty of the Indians present at the Encounter.

Much more damage might have been done by our men upon the Enemy, if they had known the ready way to their *Canoos*; but the Indians having prepared all things ready for fight, in Case, as well as for flight, the more easily made their escape. One of the Captives taken was *Maddockawando's Sister*, who was Entertained very Courteously by the Commander in chief, and had been carryed forthwith to her Brother, in hope by her means to have gained the better Terms for our remaining English Captives, but it was certainly known that he was gone from home upon an Hunting Designe, and not to return in two Months.

The English took much Plunder from the Indians, about a thousand weight of dried Beef, with other things, *Megunnaway* was shot to Death, the same day or the next, so as Justice is by degrees pursuing those perfidious Villains, and one after another they are brought under the Wheel of Destruction. *Simon*, that Arch Traytor, seems as is said, by his Consumptive looks, to have received the Sentence of Death, which may bring him into the same place or State with the rest.

Feb. 28th. they set Sayle for *Shipscot*, but the wind failing, they were put in at *Kennibeck*, from whence Captain *Fisk* with forty men were sent to the said place to seek after Plunder, where they found between thirty and forty Bushels of good wheat, which they brought away with them, several other things they lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away; As one or two great Guns, and some Anchors from *Saga-de-Hock*, Boards from *Arowsick*, where they found an hundred thousand Foot, of which they brought home, enough for the lading of their Vessels, leaving the rest to be Transported in a more convenient Season.

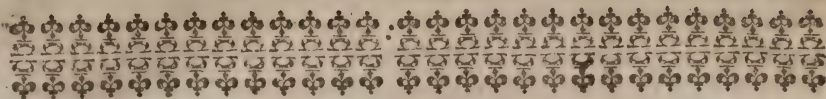
While our Souldiers were upon *Arowsick*, two of the Enemy chancing to come upon the place, one of them presently received his Reward, the other received his in part, which yet is supposed to amount to the whole; The *Canoo* wherein he seemed to escape, being found the next day all bloody, and split asunder.

March the first, one of the Indian Squaws a Captive was sent to *Taconet Fort*, with a Message to the *Sagamores* to Treat for the rest of the Captives:

Captives: Five days were given her for her Return, which were not expired, when Major Waldern, with most of the Souldiers were called to return home towards Boston, where they arrived *March the Eleventh, 1676. 77.* having first put in at *Portsmouth*; Bringing along with them the bones, rather the body of *Captain Lake*, preserved entire and whole and free from putrefaction by the coldness of the long winter, so as it was when found by the discretion of one that was near him when he was slain, easily discerned to be his, by such as had known him before.

It is hoped by those that returned, the Enemies are by this Encounter of the English so scattered and broken, that they will not be able to rally again suddenly, or make any after attempt, if the present Advantage be seriously pursued. And thus have our Enemies themselves many of them fallen into the pit, which they have been digging for others.

This day also Letters were received from Major Pinchen of *Springfield*, but without mention of any appearance of Enemies in that Quarter, whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have stumbled and fallen down backward, so as they shall never rise any more to make farther disturbance. That which crowned the present Service was the performing it without loss of blood; They all returning home in safety, not any one being missed; Let them accordingly remember to pay a suitable Tribute of Thankfulness to him, under whose Banner they went forth, and returned in Safety; And say with *Moses the Servant of the Lord*,
J E H O V A H N I S S I.



TO this *Issue* were our *Troubles with the Indians* brought in the end of the year, 1676.

That which hath been already in that kind, may serve to give an *Account* of the *Murthers, Slaughters, Captivities* of several persons of the English Inhabitants of *New-England*: together with the *burning and spoyling* of divers of their *Villages and houses, spoyling of their Estates*, by those their *perfidious and barbarous Enemies*. That which remains, is only to satisfy the *Inquisitive Reader* about some other particulars, which have a *Relation* unto, or dependance upon the former: as to shew what may be the *principal and leading Causes, Civil or moral*, of those *strange successes* of the *Indians*, in some of their *first Encounters* with the English there, what *presages* or other *ominous Accidents* were observed aforehand, what *Assistance* they received from other *Forreign Nations, French, or Dutch*, what is since become of those *Indians* that were the *Authors* of the foresaid mischiefs, what *progress Christian Religion* hath already made, or is like further to make amongst the rest, all which may serve as an *Epilogue* to the *Tragical History* foregoing.

It is no doubt but that (as sometimes was said of the *Divisions of Reuben*) there have been, and are *great thoughts of heart* amongst them that wish well to this poor Country; for the *Calamities* that of late have here fallen out, every one taking occasion to put that *Construction* upon what hath hapned, which *suits best* with his own understanding and humour. Possibly those that live at a distance have made many *uncertain guesses* at things which have passed here. For those that lived upon the place have very sad *Apprehensions* both concerning the *Rise and Issue of them*. In a matter therefore of so much difficulty to give the best account we can of the things *under debate*; It cannot be denyed but that things ever since the planting of these *Colonies of New-England*, they have been *signally blessed* of God, and made to *flourish* above many other *Forreign Plantations*, both for the number of *Towns and Villages, Increase of Families, growth of Trade, flourishing of Religion*, probably therefore, this sudden and unexpected *turn of Providence*, may occasion many to think, that either there hath been some *notable Declension* from former *Principlees and wayes*, or else the world hath been

much abused by former reports of our prosperous proceedings here. But it should be observed that Arguments taken barely from *success*, and the *Event* of things, like *Cyphers* standing alone and not joyned with others, as some have said, do not *increase* the number, when the whole *Summe* is to be made up, they will signifie what they were intended for; every thing is beautiful in its *Season*, but in the mean time *sad events* should rather be improved to our own *Instruction* than the condemning of others: following the dark *Cloud of Providence* without the fiery *Pillar* of the *Scripture*, will lead into *uncertain paths*. This is not the first time that *Christian People* have been exposed to many *Outrages*, and *barbarous Calamities* from their *Pagan Neighbours*, to whom they have been many ways *Officious*. It is well known what hapned in the Neighbour Colony of *Virginia* on the twenty second of *March*, 1622. when by a general *Conspiracy* of the *Indians* three hundred and forty seven persons of the *English Planters*, were barbarously massacred; at that time when they had the greatest hopes of *Converting* them to *Christianity*; yet need not this any where discourage *charitable Endeavours* that way; for if it had not been for one *Converted Indian*, that revealed the *Plot*, in all likelihood all the rest of the *English* there planted, had been in like manner cut off at the same time. The *Heathen* in *New-England* are situate in the same *Climate*, therefore cannot be supposed to be much differing in their *manners and disposition*. But besides that we are hemm'd in on both sides, and almost round about, with *People of Foreign Nations*, whose designe is neither *Religion*, nor yet planting Colonies of *Civil people*, so much as present *Emolument* by *Commerce* and *Traffick* with the *Indians*, who notwithstanding their *barbarous manner* of living, are yet furnished with some rich and useful *Commodities*, for the obtaining of which, those that come amongst them have not been unwilling to offer them in way of *Exchange*, such *Commodities*, as the *Indians* most fancy and desire, as *Powder* and *Amunition*, not considering how *destructive* the *Trade* thereof may prove to others, which hath made some wise men both *fear* and *foretell* the *dangerous Issue* of *Trading* those things with the *Indians* here. It hath been said the *Hollanders* used so to deal with the *Spaniards*, at such times as they had their fiercest *Wars* with them, saying, that if they did not, others would carry those *Commodities* to their *Enemies*, which they thought they were as good to do themselves, that so in Case of *bad Success* in the wars, the gain of the *Barter* might help to make amends for the loss of the *Battle*. The same Reason possibly put them upon the like practice in that part of this Country called the *New-Netherlands*: for which they

they have pretty well *smarted themselves*, as now they have helped others to do by their Example. Some prudent Gentlemen that governed in *Virginia* at the first, were aware of this mischief; wherefore it was strictly forbidden them, upon pain of death to shew an Indian the use of a Gun; if the like Course had been continued here, it had scarce been possible according to the *Eye of Reason* that so much mischief could have been done us by our Indian Neighbours, at this time more than in former years. Their wills were as good heretofore, but when they had nothing but *Bows and Arrows* to trust unto, they were capable of no such mischief: But now by their frequent *Converse* and *Trading* with the *Dutch* and *French* on each side of us, they are as well skil'd in the use of *small Artillery* as many other Nations.

Their young men so much delighting therein, that upon point they minde little else, and are so proud of their Skill, that they thought they could easily deal with, if not over-match their Masters that first instructed them.

It is reported by an *Ancient Marriner* yet living in these parts, a person of good Credit, that above twenty years since being in the Eastern parts about *Kennibeeck*, he heard an old Indian tell this story, that when he was a Youth, there was a Fort built about *Saga-de-Hock* (the Ruines of which were then shown this Relater, supposed to be that called *St. Georges Fort* in honour of Captain *George Popham*, the President of the Company sent over Anno, 1607.) and possessed for some time by the English: But afterward upon some Quarrel that fell out betwixt the Indians and them, the English were some of them killed by the said Indians, and the rest all driven out of the Fort, where there was left much of their Provision and Amunition; amongst which there was some Barrells of powder, but after they had opened them, not knowing what to do therewith, they left the Barrells carelessly open, and scattered the powder about, so as accidentally it took fire, and blew up all that was within the Fort, burnt and destroyed many of the Indians, upon which they conceived their God was Angry with them for doing hurt to the English; It had been well these Indians never had had any other acquaintance with the nature of that Commodity, then by such Experimental knowledge of its Force and power. But Covetousness was and will be the Root of all evil in every Age of the World, of which this may be reckoned one, and not the least, that for the sake of a little *Lucre*, Civil and Christian Nations have been induced to instruct a barbarous and Salvage people, before ever they had been reduced to good order or Civil manners, much less Christianity, in the use of our Artillery, and

and furnish them likewise with *Ammunition*, to improve that Skill to the destruction of themselves, and their Posterity. *Thomas Marton* was said to be the first that like *Epimetheus* opened this *Pandora's Box*, but he was not the *Vulcan*, that forged all their *Guns*, with other weapons of war they are found so well furnished withall.

The *Commissioners* of our united Colonies have for a long time carefully and seriously endeavoured the preventing this Inconveniency in every of the three Colonies, by strict prohibition of *Trading Ammunition* with the Indians; Nor hath it been given way unto, till of late years, when by the continual *Sollicitation* of some of our own People (that possibly since have paid dearly for their forwardness therein) who alleadged the Example of the *French and Dutch*, and of some of our own Nation bordering upon us; The former restraint hath been taken off, and it is verily supposed that as to some of our people, that in the last *Insurrection* of the Indians amongst us, have felt both the first and worst part of their *Rage and Cruelty*; it was effected by the *Ammunition* not long before purchased of themselves, which it may be was reserved for that very end and purpose. It is no small Aggravation of the misery befalling a place or person, when it is known to be brought about, by means of their own projecting; As sometimes was said to the Tyrant slain by a weapon of his own forging, *suo sibi hunc jugulo gladio*.

But if Enquiry be made into the moral and procuring Causes, whereby God hath been provoked to let loose the *Rage of the Heathen* thus against us; It is not hard to give an Answer. The *Sovereign Ruler of the world* need never pick a Quarrel with any sort of men (the best of his Servants at all times giving him too just occasion of Controversy with them) or be to seek of a ground why to bring a *Scourge* upon them, having also other holy ends why he contends with his People; of which he is not bound to render the world an account: It may be Reason enough to work in them a *Sympathy* for the Sufferings and Calamities of others: or to keep them from being exalted above measure; or to humble and prove them, that they should by their long Peace and Prosperity be ready to look upon themselves as less sinners than others, who have drunk deep of the *Cup of Trembling* before them: To prevent what Evil may, as well as reform what is already grown up amongst them. Standing waters are most apt to corrupt, Gods Dispensations of this nature in the world, are usually observed to be for *Correction* of the Vices, as well as for the Tryal of the Virtues found in his Servants. And what people or person is there upon the face of the Earth, who hath not Reason to lay their hand upon their mouths, and to abhor themselves

selves in *dust and ashes*, If the *Almighty* should go about to enter into *Judgement* with them: No doubt but after so long a time of *Peace and Prosperity*, as hath been enjoyed, the like *Corruptions* have began to bud forth, as are usual in such a Case, as *Pride, Luxury, Inordinate Love of the World, &c.* Nor need He be instructed by men, what *Instruments* to make use of, in the *chastning* of his People: Why may not *God* as well as *Gideon* teach the men of *Succoth*, and of other places, by the *Briers and Thorns of the Wilderness*, if a more particular *Indagation* of the very *Original Offence* in this matter be expected.

All things considered, it may be feared to spring from some *Irregularities and miscarriages* in our *Transactions and dealings* with the *Indians* themselves, according to that known Rule, *In quo quis peccat in eo punitur*, yet must not this be understood, so as to reflect upon the People of the *United Colonies* in the *Gross*: Whose *supream Courts* in their several *Jurisdictions*, have endeavoured by the *sharpest and severest Laws* imaginable to prevent any miscarriage of such a nature; But it hath arisen only from such places & persons as border upon us round about, both *Southward and Eastward*, yet never were, nor would be, subject to the *Laws of our Jurisdiction*, nor had any *Reprover in the Gate*, or *Magistrate* to put the *Offenders* to shame. Such as make the Advantage they have in their hand the Rule for their *Consciences* to act by; It is no wonder if they be ready to transgress the *Rules* both of *Sobriety and Righteousness* in their dealings with men, as well as *Piety before God*. The things that the *Indians* are more eager to Trade for, being known to be either *strong Liquor or Powder, and Amunition*: And many have been found *Indirectly and under hand* to gratifie their humour therein. The one hath proved always most *hurtful to themselves*, the other feared (and justly as it hath over proved) most *destructive to our selves*. The more *sober and prudent* of the *Indians* have always most *bitterly complained* of the *Trading of strong Liquor* in our *English*, as well as in the *French and Dutch*, whose ordinary *Custom* is first, to make them, or suffer them to make themselves *drunk with Liquors*, and then to Trade with them, when they may easily be *cheated* both in what they bring to Trade, and in the *Liquor it self*, being one half or more nothing but *Spring water*, which made one of the *Amonoscoggin Indians* once complain that he had given an *hundred pound* for water drawn out of *Mr. P. his Well*. But this is not all the Evil that attends this wicked Trade of *strong Liquor*, for when they are *drunk therewith*, they are ready to fight with their *Friends, Parents, Brethren, &c.* Yea, often have *murdered one another*. Should I not be avenged on such a people,

or persons as these saith the Lord? Good old Jacob sometimes complained after the Villany of his two Sons, committed upon the *Schechemites*, that he was made to *stink in the sight of the People of the Land*, and that he should be *destroyed he and his house*: It is well if some of our *Borders* have not had cause, not only to *fear*, but to *feel* the like Calamity in Reference to themselves, or some of theirs, thus what hath been gotten over the back of the evil Fiend is lost under his belly, according to the Proverb.

Besides all this, it hath been observed of many of these scattering Plantations in our Borders, that many were contented to live without, yea, desirous to shake off all yoke of Government, both sacred and Civil, and so Transforming themselves as much as well they could into the manners of the Indians they lived amongst, and are some of them therefore most deservedly (as to *Divine Justice*) left to be put under the yoke and power of the Indians themselves, and hence it is that in many parts, the people void of Council and common prudence as well as Courage, have so frightfully deserted, or cowardly delivered up several places of strength (though Tenable enough of themselves) into the hands of Contemptible Enemies; and so like Ripe Figs upon the first shaking of the Tree, have been ready to fall into the mouth of the Eater, as the Prophet speaks; As hath been too sadly verified in some of the Southern, and all the Eastern parts.

If it be here Objected, that the same or like Calamities have befallen many of those places and persons; where no such Evils could justly be complained of; It may as easily be Answered, and that from the observation of *Heathen themselves*, that in such publick Calamities, it is not easy to distinguish between the good and the bad, *sape Diespiter, iratus incesto addidit integrum*. The Righteous many times have an equal share with the wicked. In these Cases saith Solomon, *all things come alike to all, no man knoweth love or hatred by all that is before him*: The Confused Events of worldly Affairs, are oft times so limited and restrained by the holy hand and wise Providence of God, that it is hard to find a difference, therefore concerning such places, which may be thought not touched with the guilt of the formentioned miscarriages, yet have by the overruling hand of Providence been notwithstanding made to suffer as deeply as others. I judge them not, yet hope, if they have ought for which to judge themselves before him that searcheth the hearts, they will take occasion hereby to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, that in his due time they may be Exalted to their former Tranquillity and Peace.

When

When Gods Judgments, are abroad in the Earth, then should the *Inhabitants of the World learn Righteousness*. This Caution is judged the more necessary here to be added, in that it is the general observation of all indifferent and unconcerned persons about the like Troubles; That they have ordinarily either begun, or have fallen heaviest upon those places and persons that have had *most to do* in the Trading with Indians.

If any such have as yet escaped their hands, to be sure they have been *Threatened*, as if they had been before others, particularly lookt upon by them, as the *Object* of their *Revenge*, which makes some moderate persons fear, that those men have either themselves offended in that kind, or else have connived at others under them, to carry on the *Traffick* with the Indians, by such ways and means, that have been as well *offensive* to God, as *injurious* to those they have *Traded with*.

In the second place, touching the various Success we have met withal, in our several Encounters with the Indians, *Victory and Conquest* did for a long time seem to *stand Neuter*, and our condition and Warfare not much unlike the Conflict between *Israel and Amalek* in the Wilderness, nor can it be denied but that our Enemies for a time had great Success in their *Outrages*, Providence as it were seeming to offer them opportunities of doing us much mischief, when we could find none of taking *just Revenge*: Things of that nature being strangely either hid from the Eyes of the *Leaders*, or else the *weather* hath so fallen out as that it was *not possible* for our men to have *pursued them*: Although both the *Commanders* and *Souldiers*, sent forth from all the *three Colonies*, have *jointly* and *severally* pursued their Advantages, with *incredible hazard and diligence*, and with as *Invincible Courage* as ordinarily hath been found amongst men. But as it is said, the *Battle* is not always *to the strong*, nor the *race* to the *swift*, but *Time and Chance* hath strangely interposed to the prolonging of our miseries, and the hardning and emboldning of our Enemies: Much of our disappointments, and the loss of many of our Forces engaging with them, must be *imputed* in a great measure to our mens unacquaintedness with the manner of *their fighting*, they doing most of their mischiefs, either by *Ambushments*, sudden surprizals, or over-matching some of our small Companies with greater numbers, having had many times *six or seven* to one: Possibly also many of our Overthrows have proceeded from our too much Confidence in our own weapons, *Courage* and *Martial Discipline* (Not making Allowance for the difference of Times, when they before engaged us, only with Bows
and

and Arrows, but now came to fight us with our own weapons) which hath proved no small Advantage to our Enemies, & disadvantage to our selves; or else to the distance of our Towns one from the other, so as oftentimes they were destroyed, or in danger thereof, before any notice was taken of their danger. If that be a sure Rule whereby Valour is to be judged, *plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti*, sc. that there is more Courage seen in the Assaylants, than in the Defendants; a few of our men have frequently defended themselves against multitudes of them, unless at such times when providence seemed as it were to trouble the Wheels of our Motions, and fight against us, so as ordinarily our people used not to want Courage: For at Lancaster where they seemed to have had the greatest Cause of boasting for their Success in any Assault (although it were since known, that they had five hundred fighting men when they assaulted that small Town of about fifty Families) yet were they able to surprize but one garrison house, which neither was fenced round, nor were the Defendants able to ply their shot behind it, but so as the Enemy came to the very walls, and Roof on the back side with their Fuel, or else they had never been able to have dispossessed the Inhabitants. The same Indians within awhile after, had not been able to have done the mischief at Groaton which they did, had not a Garrison been unadvisedly as it were delivered into their hands. In one word they were more beholding to their perfidious Subtlety and Falshood, or to the Advantage of Season, place, and Number than any Valour or Courage in all their Victories, shewing only a Beluine Rage and fierceness, when they had an opportunity in their hands to destroy or do mischief. For soon after when the time of Vengeance was come, and God seemed to own the Cause of his people, a small handful of our men hath surprized hundreds of theirs, as hath been already declared in the Narrative. The Dispensations of the Almighty have been very awful towards us, for a long time, not seeming to go forth without Armies, nor helping us in defending our selves, or defeating of our Enemies, as if he had a purpose and designe to bring a sharp scourge upon us, by that means to humble us, and prove us, and then (as we trust) to do us good in our latter end: acting therein as wise Parents that after they have corrected their children, to cast the Rod into the Fire. For our Enemies to the Southward, were in the beginning of these Troubles, possessed of many goodly Havens, many rich and Fertile places, as at Mount-Hope, and all along the Narrhaganst Country. But are by this occasion, (quarrelling with us without cause) themselves in a manner all destroyed by the special hand of God, and their

their *Posterity* quite *rooted out*, as were the *Pequots* before them, whereby it may be gathered as we hope, that God is making way to settle a better people in their rooms, and in their stead; when the whole frame of Gods Counsels, and purposes are put together, and accomplished by the Issues of his Providence, it will, no doubt, appear a *work very beautiful in its Season*, not only for the *glory of the Author* but for the *good and benefit* of his people, that are concerned therein.

Something of that nature hath been observed by some *Judicious persons* in reference to the present Calamities, of which something hath already been *published to the World*, concerning which I have nothing to add, only that some such things have been affirmed by credible persons, as *presages of what hath lately come to pass*. The *noyse of Guns* is affirmed by many, to have been *heard in the Ayre*, in sundry places not many years before; Concerning which the *Judicious Reader* may take what notice he pleaseth. Although I would not be *too forward* in *obtruding* uncertain Reports upon the belief of the far distant Reader, especially considering how much the world hath oft been abused with *false Coyne* of the like nature.

But for other *predictions* of the present Calamities, some *wise men* have thought it not unworthy to be *communicated to Posterity* what hath been observed amongst the Indians themselves, as if either *God himself* had left some *Impression* on the minds of some of them this way, or that by some *strange Instinct* or other, they had some Reason to forbode the Troubles now begun, although not yet ended, *sed dabit Deus his quoque finem*, in his own time.

There was within the compass of the last seven years now current a *Sagamore* about *Kiltary*, or the *North-East* side of *Pascataqua River*, called *Rouls*, or *Rolles*: who lying *very sick*, and *bedrid*, (being an *old man*) he expected some of the English, that had seized upon his land, should have shewn him that *Civility*; as to have given him a *visit* in his *Aged Infirmities*, and *sickness*; It matters not much, whether it was *totally neglected* or not; to be sure at the last, he sent for the *chief of the Town*, and desired a *favour of them*, viz. that though he might, as he said, *challenge all the Plantation for his own*, where they dwelt, that yet they would please to *sell or give him a small Tract of Land*, possibly an *hundred or two of Acres*, and withal desired it might be *Recorded* in the *Town Book*, as a *publick Act*, that so his *Children* which he left behind, might not be turned out, like *Vagabonds*, as destitute of an *habitation* amongst, or near the English, adding this as the *Reason*; That he knew

there would shortly fall out a War between the Indians and the English all over the Country, and that the Indians at the first should prevail, and do much mischief to the English, and kill many of them; But after the third year, or after three years, all the Indians which so did, should be rooted out, and utterly destroyed.

This Story is reported by Major Waldern, Mr. Joshuah Moody, Captain Frost, that live upon, or near the place. And one of the three forementioned persons was desired by the said Sagamore to make a Record hereof. *Valeat quantum valere potest aut debet.* Many Stories of like nature are confidently told, by such as have been more conversant with the Indians, which shewed that either the Conspiracy was a long while in Contriving, or else that some Impression was by a Divine hand made upon the minds of some of them.

For the actings of our Neighbour Nations round about us, whether they have had actually any hand in our Sufferings, either instigating of our Enemies, or secretly and underhand supplying them with necessities wherewith to carry on their designe against us, without whose assistance, it is supposed they could hardly thus long have held out. It is no question but there are those in the world, that say *Aha, at the Calamities of our Sion*, and that like *Edom in Jerusalem's day*, cry, *Rase it, Rase it, even to the Foundation thereof*: But for our near Neighbours, whether Dutch or French, their designe in their several Plantations, being solely, or principally Trade, and knowing that as formerly they had, so may they still have more benefit, and Advantage by our Commerce and Traffick than by our Ruine; it seems therefore not so probable, that they should promote or designe such a wicked end to themselves, much less that they should joyn with Pagan Infidels therein; more Charity we judge is due to them that profess the Christian Name, whatever Errour or Superstition their Religion or worship may be blinded with.

We may well conceive that either of them would not be much unwilling to part with any thing they have to sell for Beaver, nor would they very scrupulously enquire what the Indians do with their powder, provided they could get their pay for it, no more than the Cutler did, to know (as the tale goes) what the Cutpurse did with the knife he made him: But that purposely either of them have furnished our Enemies with means to do us mischief, we are not forward to believe.

As for the French at Cannada they live at too great a distance to have much Commerce with our Enemies: And besides they are not themselves so secure of the Indians they deal with as to be forward to set them against others, lest thereby they come to learn the way to fall

fall upon themselves. And besides it hath been affirmed by some of their own Nation, that not long since were there, and passed home this way, that they are more affraid of Attempts from hence, than we have cause to be from them.

Other Reports possibly have been taken up concerning us, as if we were *divided in our Counsels* and were too tenacious of our goods, and readier to keep them for our Enemies, than prudently to lay out what was necessary for our own defence and preservation : no question but many such Rumours as these have taken place, in the minds of some ; But it is hoped that such as are *wise and serious*, will not give too much to *sinister Reports* till they are *rightly enformed*. Greater *Unity of minde* in things of such a nature, hath seldome been found amongst men, that might all along have been observed here. If in any thing propounded for the better carrying on the war against the Indians, there hath been some difference of apprehension either from the *seeming Impossibility* and *Arduousness* of the *Attempt*, or difficulty of the Season ; it never occasioned the *least Remora* of the *Action*, though in things of the greatest moment. Nor was there ever any difficulty in the *disbursing* what was *necessary for carrying on the Affairs* of the War, how chargeable soever and *Expensive* it hath been found. The scarcity of *Coyne* hath occasioned a *little Trouble* in some present *Exigent*, otherwise no Reason hath been given of any just complaint this way. But it being the usual *Lot of them* that are most *soverly afflicted of God*, to be most *deeply censured of men*, but we must expect to pass through *Evil* as well as *good Report*.

Possibly also some may here take notice of a very *distinguishing Providence* in these our late Troubles, in that *this Rod of affliction* hath seemed not to ly in an *equal proportion* upon the *body of the people of New-England* ; which is no *new thing* to observe in Calamities of this nature ; wherein it is very ordinary for those parts of a Country that lye *next bordering upon the Coast* of the common Enemy to be most *obnoxious to their IncurSIONS*, and to be more frequently then others *harnessed thereby* ; As hath been the Case of us here in these *parts of the Earth*, ever since the first planting thereof : The great numbers of the *Savages* being *swept away* by some *unusual mortality* in all those places, where the body of the people that came over hither, *first seated themselves* ; so as they were not so lyable to their *Injuries* and *Insolencies*, as those were, who not long after were called to plant the *more remoter parts* of the Country, where were *greater numbers* of them left. Which was the occasion that the *said Colony of Connecticut* was then *soverly afflicted with the Pequods* at their first planting, when above *thirty* of them fell into the

hands of those *cruel miscreants*, they bordering next or near upon them, so as they had an opportunity to *assault them* in their first *Attempt* for planting that side of the *Country*, as sometimes *Analek* did unto *Israel of old*. Further also it may be considered, that our *Brethren of Connecticut* have had no small part of this *present tryal*, in that they have been necessarily called to lend their assistance to the other *Colonies*, which they have upon all occasions (to their honour be it spoken) most readily and freely done, not only by their *Articles of Consideration*, but as they were of necessity constrained in *common prudence* for their own safety to do, *jam proximus ardet Uoalegon*: he that will not help to quench the fire kindled in his Neighbours house, may justly fear to loose his own. It may truly be said also, that they have had their turn in like troubles at the *first hand*, their *Fleeces* being only watered with a like *bloody showre*, when the ground all about was dry; as now the contrary hath seemed to fall out. To be short we are all but one *Political body*, which ought to be *sensible of the Sorrows* that befell any particular members thereof: we all came over into those parts of *America*, with one and the same end and aim, *viz.* to enjoy the *liberty of the Gospel* in unity and peace, and to *advance the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and being in our first settling, (by the wise Providence of God) farther disposed upon the *Sea Coasts and Rivers*, then was at first intended, so that we could not according to our desire communicate, in our *Government and Jurisdiction*, and being likewise where we live, encompassed with people of several *Nations*, which may prove *injurious*, as they have *formerly committed Insolencies*, and *Outrages* upon several of our Plantations, we were necessitated to enter into a *Confociation* amongst our selves for *mutual help and strength* in such concerns as have now fallen out, as is expressed in the *Preface to the Articles of Consideration*, agreed upon *May twenty ninth, 1643.*

In the last place, upon the consideration of these late *Uproars* amongst the *Indians*, some may be like to enquire, what is become of the *Conversion of the Natives*, so much famed abroad, and what progress the *Gospel* hath made amongst them, fearing (as well they may) it is like to be not a little *obstructed* hereby. It may probably be supposed, that the *pious endeavours* of some to preach the *Gospel* amongst several of the *Indian Natives*, hath given the first occasion of the *Quarrel*, as usually it hath done in the world. But that *Opposition* meeting with no *better Success* in the *Southern parts*, than the *Ruine* of those that made the first *Rebellion* against us, Satan hath lately *changed himself into an Angel of Light*, under that shape, making this his last *Attempt*, to the *Eastward*.

For

For the chief Leader of those Indians is a *Sagamore* called *Squando*, who hath (as is said by them that lately escaped from their hands) *familiarly converse with the Prince of Darkness*, though under the notion of a good *Deity*, putting him upon a *form of Religion*, and forbidding any *acts of Cruelty* and *murder* to be used against any they oppose, if they be *willing to yield*, and in that way promising *great Success to his Followers*; what the Issues of his proceedings will be, God only knows, and a little time may discover: But for those that before these troubles have *professedly owned the Christian Name*, many of them have given *notable proof of their sincerity*, by fighting against their, and our *Enemies*, and have been very successful in their Endeavours: as well these in the *upper parts of Cape-Cod*, commonly called *Cape Indians*, as those about *Natick*, and *Hassinameset*, within the *Massachusetts Jurisdiction*, It is not my purpose to enlarge much on this head, that I might not raise the expectation of the world to greater matters than for the present do appear.

There are about *six Societies of Indians* in the Country, who have *professedly owned themselves Christians*; In every one of which it is supposed there are some that do make a *serious profession of the Christian Religion*. The Salvation of whose Souls is worth far more pains and cost than ever yet was laid out upon that work.

It is not a *small thing*, that in these *dark places* of the Earth, which in all Ages past, since mankind had any knowledge thereof, have been full of nothing but the *habitations of Cruelty*, the light of the Gospel should take so much place, as to cause any number of those *Vassals of Satan* where he so long hath had his *Throne*, *professedly to own the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ*. What Harvest is like to be of the *Body of them*, in the *present*, or in the *future time*, is not for any of us to speak: neither at what *hour*, or under what *Viall*, they shall be sent to labour in *Gods Vineyard*, lest we should thereby seem to *entrench upon the Sovereignty of the Almighty*, in whose hands are the *time and Season of grace*; as well as of *nature*. There are many Nations in the world, to this day, lying out from the *Kingdome of the Lord Jesus*, who were never yet known *professedly to own his Scepter*, although probably the Gospel hath at some time or other been *preached unto them*, or sent amongst them; It may be, only to be a *Testimony unto them*, and so to leave them without *excuse* another day.

Whether any farther end in Reference to these amongst our selves is aimed at, in the wise and *unsearchable Counsels* of the great God, is known only to himself, and may be thought more convenient for him that *writes*, and them that *read the present Narrative*, to leave to the
after

after determination of future Events, rather than to intrude our selves into that which is out of our Line, or beyond our Sphere. Thus much without offence may be affirmed, that in all the habitable places of the Earth, wherever God hath, or ever had a People calling upon his Name, never any notable work of Religion was known to take much place, where some kind of Civility, and Culture of good manners, had not gone before.

*Adde quod ingenuas, didicisse Fideliter Artes :
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*

God in his natural Providence, hath taught the Husbandman to plough the ground, to break and open the Clods thereof, before he casts in the Seed : In the dispensation of his grace he usually observes the same method ; to break up the fallow grounds of the Nations of the world, and not to sow among Thorns. When he that sits upon the white horse, with his Bow and his Crown, and went forth conquering and to conquer, it was amongst the Civil, and not amongst the Barbarous and Salvage Nations of the World : They that preach the Gospel else will have a double Task, (the least of which hath been found hard enough for the best of men, who is sufficient for these things ? saith St. Paul) the great Apostle of the Gentiles, to convert men, First, from Salvage Paganisme, then to Christianity. It is commonly said that the Turks will not admit a Jew to become a Mahometan, till he hath first turned Christian ; To be sure we rarely find any Gentil Nation turned Christian before they became Humane. Divine Providence hath improved the Roman Sword to make way for the Scepter of the Gospel of Peace. That Civility that is found amongst the Natives of this Country, hath hitherto been carried on and obtained, only by the gentle means of Courtesy, Familiarity, and such like civil behaviour, which in other places was never yet attended with any eminent success that way. It seems some Religious Gentlemen in Virginia, had great hopes of the Conversion of the Indians to Christianity, a little before the Massacre there ; The means principally used by them was Familiarity and kindness : One Mr. Thorps well reputed for Religion, and in Command, one of the principal in Virginia, did so truly affect the Conversion of the Indians there, that whosoever under him did them the least displeasure, were punished severely. He thought nothing too dear for them : And to content them in all things, he caused many English Masters to be killed, and would have taken a Course to have sufficiently tamed the rest. He conferred often with their great Sachem about Religion, and made him confess that the English mans
God

God was better than the Indians : This Gentleman out of his good meaning was so full of Confidence and void of Suspicion, that he would never believe any hurt of them, till he felt ~~his~~ *their* cruel hands imbrued in his own blood; they barbarously murdering him amongst the rest. Mr. Stockain a serious and judicious Minister in Virginia, & pious also, for ought is here of his Life, at that time when all things were so prosperous there, & the Salvages were thought to be at the point of Conversion, *against the Opinions* of all others, both Governours and Council, wrote his mind to the Council and Company in England about this point in these words.

‘For the Conversion of the Salvages, I wonder you use not the means : I confess you say well to have them converted by *fair means*; but they scorn to acknowledge it; As for the gifts bestowed on them, they *devour* them, and so they would the givers if they could : Many have endeavoured by kindness to convert them, yet find nothing from them, but *derision* and *Ridiculous Answers* : We have sent *Boyes* among them to learn their Language, but they return worse than they went : But I am no States man, nor love I to meddle with any thing, but my Books ; But I can find no probability, by this Course to draw them to goodness : And I am perswaded if *Mars* and *Minerva* go hand in hand, they will effect more good in an hour than those *Verbal Mercurians* in their lives : Adding that there will be no hope of their Conversion till their *Priests* (possibly he meant their *Powows*) be removed from them. The natural *barbarousness* and *perfidiousness* of their disposition may in part be gathered by this Story.

When some of *Pocasset* Indians in *Plimouth Jurisdiction* had professed their Service to *Captain Church*; as they were in pursuit of the Indians our Enemies, one of the said Indians from the top of an hill discerned a Company of *Wigwams*, where those they went to seek, had taken up their Stations, he called to his *Captain*, and pointing to one of the outermost *Wigwams*, told him that was his *Fathers Wigwam*, and ask’d if he must now go and kill his *Father*; No saith *Captain Church*, do but shew me where he is and I will deal with him, do you fall upon some others : to which the said Indian only replied in broken English; That *very good speak*; whereby their natural *perfidiousness* even to their nearest *Relations* may be observed, which makes their *Treachery* towards us their *Forreign Neighbours*, the less to be wondred at. And therefore till they be reduced to more *Civility*, some wise men are ready to fear Religion will not take much place amongst the body of them.

Likewise when *Philip* was kept in the Swamp at *Pocasset*, it is certainly affirmed that several of their young *Children* were killed by themselves;

selves, that they might not be betrayed by their crying, or be hindred with them in their flight, when they made their escape.

The generality of the Indians in New-England are in their manners and natural disposition, not much unlike those in Virginia living much in the same Climate; who have likewise made an Insurrection, much about the same time this year, as our Indians did with us: But God who is able to graft in again the unbelieving Jews, is able also of these stones to raise up Children unto Abraham: And if it be the pleasure of the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, to impart the Salvation of the Gospel to any of these, far be it from any of us to repine at his grace, or neglect any due means lying in our Capacity or reach to help forward that blessed work, who knows what tendency the present troubles may have to such an End. For though a great number that are implacable and im-bittered against us in their Spirits, may be for the sake of our Religion found hardened to their own destruction, yet a Remnant may be reserved, and afterward called forth, by the power of the Gospel, to give glory to the God of all the Earth.

FINIS.

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